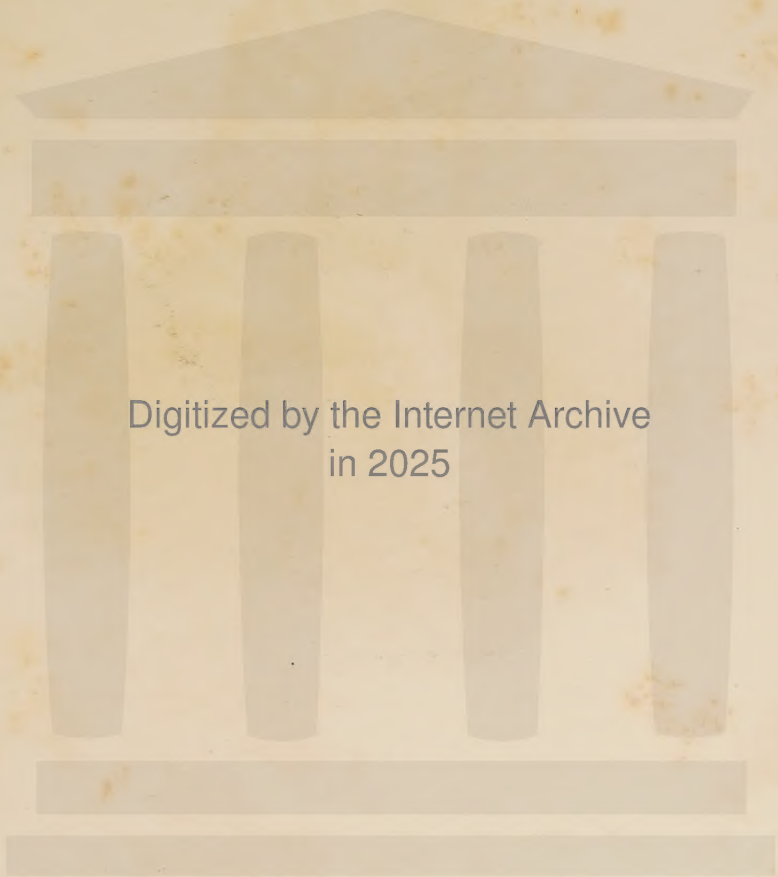
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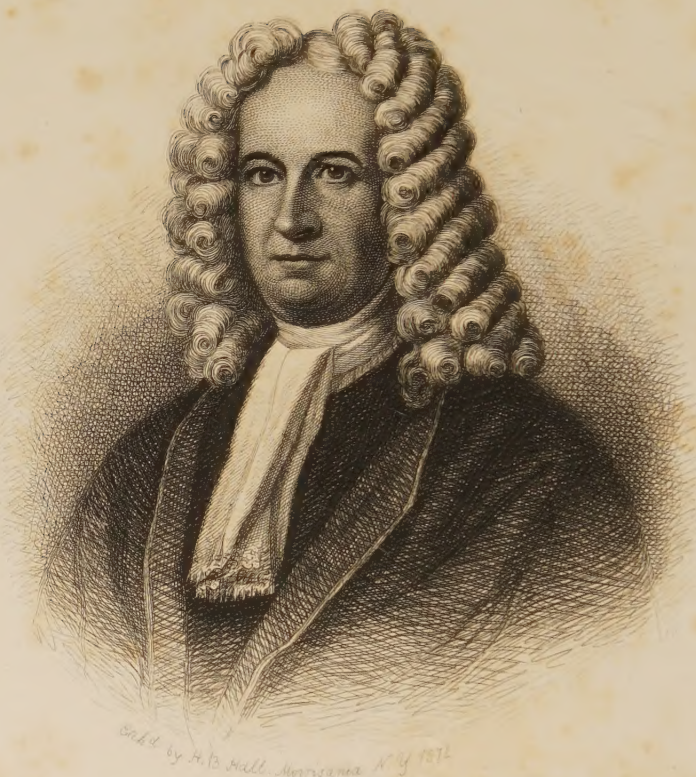

Engd by A.B. Hall. Morrisania N.Y. 1871

James Logan

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

WILLIAM PENN

AND

JAMES LOGAN,

SECRETARY OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

AND OTHERS.

1700–1750.

FROM THE ORIGINAL LETTERS IN POSSESSION OF THE LOGAN FAMILY.

WITH NOTES BY THE LATE

MRS. DEBORAH LOGAN.

EDITED WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES BY

EDWARD ARMSTRONG, M.A.,

MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, ETC. ETC.

VOL. II.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
FOR THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.
AND SOLD BY JOHN PENINGTON & SON.
1872.

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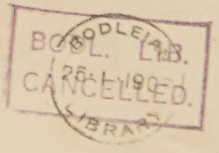

Penn. Historical Society.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OF

PENNSYLVANIA.

VOL. X.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
FOR THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.
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1872.

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PREFACE

THE second volume of the Penn and Logan Correspondence is now presented to the subscribers of the Publication Fund, and comprehends seven additional years in the history of the Province; that is, from the years 1705 to 1711 inclusive.

These letters contain a clearer and more copious description of the state of public affairs, during the period in which they were written, than is to be found in any existing documents.

An index will be furnished to all the volumes on the completion of the series.

E. A.

Church Lane, Germantown,
September 25, 1872.

340942

Penn and Logan Correspondence.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *5th 2d-mo.*, 1705.

Hon'd Governour: — Last week I received four of thine, two by Samuel Hollister, and two by Edward Lane, via Maryland, and shall take notice of such heads as more immediately require an answer, but choose to confine myself as much as possible, because of the uncertainty of the opportunity, being by Barbadoes, where scarce above one-half of our vessels sent thither arrive, — the Martinique privateers are so numerous, and their coasts so ill guarded, by the supinity of the governors and captains of the frigates. Two weeks ago we had advice of the best ship belonging to our river being taken, and in her John Sanders — Capt. Puckle's brigantine — in which he arrived here; and another large sloop, taken the very last voyage before, and bought again, as I mentioned last summer, and now utterly lost. In the first of these I am a sufferer with the rest. She was called the Unity Galley. Captain Tregony's son-in-law died on the voyage, at Madeira, from whence she was bound to Barbadoes, on Charter Party.

I perceive thou art daily more and more sensible of the inconveniences that must needs ensue from the separation of the upper and lower counties. I have fully expressed my thoughts of it, and proposed in my last, by the Massachusetts fleet and man-of-war, the best expedients for preventing them I could conceive, and, if I can, shall send a duplicate, tho' that seems a safer opportunity than that by which this is designed.

But I fear thy son's arrival has, by this time, wrought thy

resentments of the base ingratitude of some here to such a height that thou wilt not be able easily to persuade thyself to continue thy care of us any longer. I confess were this Province in general truly represented by some of the chief leaders in Assembly, I think not only the Queen's Government, but anything that's human would be good enough for us; but there are great numbers of honest, tho' too careless, people here, who abhor these proceedings, and at another election would not, I believe, be so imposed upon. The great unhappiness is, that thy present exigencies are so pressing.

I know not what the advancing season, that stirs up humors as certainly in man as in vegetables, may produce, but this past winter we have, as I said in my last, been very quiet, tho' I expect but little good from the present representatives till another election, — the honest being so much out-voted by the men of deep designs or shallow sense, the others' properties.

Richard Hough,[1] one of the best in the House, was, about three weeks ago, unfortunately overset in a wherry, coming down the river, and, with two other persons, lost his life; the rest were saved. He is much lamented by all that knew him and understand the value of a good man.

In case of surrendering the Government and keeping thy Propriety, one thing of some importance to thy affairs here, should I be still concerned in them, may deserve thy consideration, which, notwithstanding I cannot mention with the same freedom that I could if I were no way interested in it, however, upon the whole, I think it incumbent on me. 'Tis this: that, considering the levity of men's tempers here, and the whimsies that would run in some weak but obstinate men's heads upon a change, it will be greatly thy interest to have the chief of those

[1] [Richard Hough of Macclesfield, County of Chester, England, was one of the members from Bucks, which county he had represented in the previous Assemblies of 1690, '97, '99, 1700, '03, and 1704, and was elected to the Assembly of 1705, but did not live to take his seat. He arrived in the Delaware in the ship Endeavor, of London, on the 29th of 7th-mo., 1683, and married on the 17th of 1st-mo., 1683–4, — Margery, the daughter of John Clows, of Bucks County, Penna., who was from Gosworth (?), County of Chester, Eng., and with his family came a passenger in the same ship with Richard Hough. — Editor.]

concerned in thy affairs in posts of honour in the Government, for it will both show thy strength at home in all cases, and where the refractory Council carries credit, but if thou couldst procure both thy Governor and Secretary to be continued, it would look with a better aspect, besides that it would induce me the more to fix here, which, upon thy surrender, I can scarce propose to myself any longer than I can fix all thy affairs in a regular method, for when I have discharged myself of that, it will behoove me to look out for some further encouragement; this hitherto proving scarce worth my while; but I do not complain, and I need not doubt, I presume, but that thou wilt do me the justice to believe that self-interest is not my chief motive in this, whilst I advise thy parting with the Government and all, after which I am sure I should not continue long here. My qualifications for that office are not much doubted of here, and where my profession thwarts, Thomas Grey effectually supplies. The charges of the Commission I should answer, but having thus mentioned it I have done, and shall wholly leave it to thee. Only the first part, I am confident, will deserve thy consideration, on thy own account solely.

I hope thou hast at length received thy effects from Barbadoes. We hear several of the fleet miscarried — I hope thou art not a sharer in the loss. What thou mentions of my ordering insurance from Barbadoes is impracticable, for the vessel and captain's name, and value to be insured, must always be given in, which 'tis impossible for me to know early enough from thence to give instructions about it to England.

Upon advice of W. Rogers, and James Mill's death, I wrote 3d-mo. last, as I advised . . . . . .

I have received thy Father Callowhill's and J. Martindale's deed; shall be punctual in observing directions about that, and all the other parcels of land mentioned. I can give no account, per this, of Behmont's or Bainham's deeds, having mislaid the key of the escritoire, but shall take care about it. There are several other particulars in some of thy past letters which I must take a time to answer all together.[1] The slow returns of the post would not allow us to send any more by the Massachusetts

[1] Such a letter appears, but being wholly taken up with accounts of the Proprietor's private estate, is not inserted. — L.

fleet. Assure T. Callowhill, pray, that the first regard shall be paid to all his purchasers.

I have the certificate of survey from Jer'h Bass of thy land in Jersey; but 'tis impossible, as far as I can find, to make it stand, the land not being then purchased of the Indians — is altogether, they say, irregular and illegal. Pray remember I have this winter pressed so earnestly in my letters to send the deeds or exemplifications of them for thy Proprietaries in that Province — nothing here appearing to prove thy right. Claypoole's bond has been in suit these three years, but David Lloyd has undertaken to baffle it, and I cannot trust the Bench till we can have it better filled than I take it to be at present. John Guest takes methods to make himself appear so useful that the others will not act without him, and yet he is one of the last men I should commit the decision of a three-penny business to, on account of his ———.[1] The Governour, notwithstanding, continually presses the Commissioners for his encouragement, and is still of opinion that 'tis impossible to carry on any courts without him. Oaths are introduced, and Friends refuse to act in this county, tho' in the rest they do; and other people, in this town especially, are too careless to espouse anything warmly. I wish in this case we had any that deserved to be excepted. 'Tis certain we are most basely perplexed in our courts in general by that unhappy act for regulating them, as 'tis called, upon which I must mention two particular cases: Thomas Revel,[2] executor to Tatham, has sold the plantation on Neshamineh to Thomas Stevenson, and the 400 and odd acres sold by thee in England to the said Tatham having been long in dispute, tho' he had a patent for it, between him and Jos'h Growdon. T. Revel put into Bucks Court a declaration of ejectment against J. G. three years ago, to which the defendant offered immediately to plead and come to trial; but T. Revel's attorney, not being then ready, for 'tis not usual in these cases to proceed till the 2d court, when they came to press it to a trial, Jos. Growdon refused to plead, urging that the method they proceeded on, being entirely a fiction, is contrary to our law, one paragraph of

[1] [Blank in the original. — EDITOR.]

[2] [See note on page 222, Vol. I., of CORRESPONDENCE. — ED.]

which requires that all fictions shall be avoided; and thereupon the Bench refused to receive the declaration, or admit them to a trial by that method. The defendant, however, offered to answer them in any other way; but J. Moore, T. Revel's attorney, refused to take any other course, pleading that ejectments were good by the law of England, and therefore ought to be practiced here, any law to the contrary notwithstanding. At length, T. Revel laid it before the Governour and Council, requesting to be put in a way to come to a fair trial, and it now lies before the Board as yet undetermined, both sides being very positive — the one to stand by the method of ejectment, and the other by the law. Revel, 'tis said, has complained to the Lord Cornbury, who engages to forward it to England as a complaint against the Government, where, if thou shouldst hear of it, the only method will be to get that law repealed by the Queen, which would be much to the country's advantage in general, for it was drawn up in haste by that disaffected man, David Lloyd, and passed just at thy departure, and is found, upon practice, to be very inconsistent in many of its parts. Were that once repealed, thou hast the power, by thy Charter from the Crown, to erect all courts for the administration of justice by thyself or lieutenants.

The other is upon the account of the 11th of William III., prohibiting the exportation of wool, the penalty of which being £500 sterling was incurred last year by Ralph Fishbourn, of Chester, who, not knowing anything of the law, as he says, brought two hhds. of that commodity from Maryland last fall into this Government, and being seized by S. Lowman, Collector of New Castle, he was suffered by him to go home to the County of Chester, without giving any security to answer at the following court; and the next after he was summoned to appear at New Castle, where alone by that Act of Parliament the fact must be tried at common law, but the Sheriff having no power out of his own county, Ralph refused to come, upon which Lowman represented the whole case to Coll. Quarry, who shewed what he wrote to me, craving, as he pretended, advice in the matter. I immediately directed him to lay it before the Governour and Council, and some method should be taken to

do the Queen justice, notwithstanding the hardships we lie under by our unhappy act for want of Provincial writs that might reach the whole Government. This, I suppose, may more easily be redressed than the other, but it abundantly shews the insufficiency of that act which ought by all means to be vacated, but cannot so easily be done here, its author being fond of his own brat; besides that, it still answers the end it was contrived for, viz., to prevent the superintendency or greatness of any one magistrate.

On the 19th of last month, Coll. Quarry calling upon me about some other business, informed me of a Commission from the Chancery, directed to Jasper Yeates, Richard Halliwell, Judge Mompesson, and myself, for examining witnesses upon an action between himself, plaintiff, and John Lumbey, defendant. I told him I would call on him next day at his own house to see it, and accordingly did in the afternoon, tho' I was obliged by an appointment made the week before to go that evening to Bristol, 20 miles off, to meet those of Bucks about their quit-rents. I perused the Commission and Interrogatories sent with it, which were wholly new to me, Coll. Quarry never having mentioned it before to me, nor any other in his behalf, only that about three months before J. Yeates told me there was some Commission or power from the Admiralty relating to Lumbey's business at Coll. Quarry's, in which my name was; and further, until the time I have mentioned, I never heard one syllable from any person wrong. Having seen the instrument, Coll. Quarry told me he had long expected Judge Mompesson coming to town, but being disappointed, he was now under an absolute necessity of dispatching it, desiring my concurrence. I let him know I was obliged by a pre-engagement to be all that week out of town, but should return the beginning of next, and that on 3d-day afternoon I should have some leisure. Fourth-day morning, being the 28th, J. Yeates and R. Halliwell came, to whom being desired I went, and found witnesses and all things ready. I urged that the matter might be deferred, but the Coll. affirmed he could by no means delay it; upon which, perceiving I was capable to do no manner of good, nor could be concerned at all in it, because the witnesses were to be all upon oath, and

finding upon inquiry there was none to act in Lumbey's behalf, nor one witness to be produced, for being a Commissioner myself I could do nothing, and that the whole was like to be managed *ex parte*, I withdrew, and left them to proceed as they should think fit; but afterwards, at Coll. Quarry's instance, acknowledged under my hand that I had notice, which in civility I was obliged to, seeing thro' the same to me, as he declared, he omitted giving me a formal summons, which lay at any time in his power to do, and afterwards to prove that he had done it.

If Lumbey suffer by this, he must thank them for it that manage his business, no one here having the least notice of it, nor one person appearing in his behalf. I went myself to David Lloyd, formerly his attorney, but he declared himself unconcerned, and I knew of none else to apply to, being but the two last days, of the time that I had notice of, in town, and was forced, immediately as I left Coll. Quarry's, to take horse.

Coll. Quarry, at the same time, showed me the Lords of Trade's letter to him, which thou hast twice or thrice mentioned, but it falls much short of my expectation, being, as 'tis there represented, at thy earnest instance, and has no mandatory expressions, only says that upon thy officers acquitting themselves well with regard to the Queen, *they do not doubt* but he will take care to live peaceably and promote a good understanding among the people, or to this effect; but the marked words are the same, I am positive.

Before thy departure, thou gave Andrew Rudman a warrant for 500 acres, among the other Swedes at Mohunatawny, and ordered 500 more in the same warrant to be laid contiguous to it. This, he also says, thou also positively gave him, or a positive expectation of it, insomuch that he has always accounted it as his own, and bringing the return lately, craved a patent for the whole as purchased land, for the first 500 acres are mentioned as such; but not finding it granted to him expressly in the warrant, we have referred it to thyself, and therefore request thy answer.

Thou hast several times been pleased to mention a Commission to the Council that thou wast then sending, and in another letter, blanks for Attorney-General and Register-General, but they

never came. Lowther has the first, but manages poorly, not for want of inclination, but sufficiency; and the other the Governour keeps managing it by his cousin. There is power enough in the Government to appoint all officers now while the Governour and Commissioners hold, only I was jealous about that of the Attorney-General, because of thy property being concerned in it, but a Commission from the Gov'r I find answers well enough. I hear nothing of P. Parmyter.

I cannot possibly think who thou canst safely name upon the spot to succeed in case of the present Governour's decease, there not being one fit man among us that I know of,[1] and therefore believe a Commission to the Council, as I have mentioned before, would be much more proper; that Board, in all the adjacent Governments, in such case, taking the administration upon them.

Captain Finney, having taken some private disgust, for a long time behaved oddly, but he has come to again, and acquits himself as well as can be expected.

I was once of opinion that honest Griffith Owen might be left out at that Board, but now would by no means advise it, for what I could not think before, I believe now, — it would displease. He is married to widow Sanders, Jos. Growdon to the widow Buckley, and Francis Richardson is to have his daughter. John Blunston seldom comes nigh us; he unhappily joined himself with those of Darby, (to preserve good neighbourhood, he says,) who opposed the resurveys. These are finished thro' the whole Province[2] and County of New Castle, as I have mentioned often before; but the returns are not yet perfected. The charge will be about £500.

Pray neglect not to press the settling and dividing the lower Counties, urged so earnestly in my last, or thou must of necessity lose thy whole interest there. Who will do it after thou art gone? If it cannot be gained as desired, it is still better to have something certain than a greater share precariously. The further powers from W. Aubrey I must again press, as per thy son.

[1] [The writer did not mean to include those who could not conscientiously serve on account of the qualifications required. — EDITOR.]

[2] Meaning the improved parts of the Province, which consisted of only the Counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester. — L.

My letters to Churchill, R. F., the trustees, &c., were sent down to the fleet after it sailed, as it proved, and put by Randal Janney on board of a ship of good force that was left behind. I wish they may be arrived, also mine, in the 5th-mo. last, giving an account of our Collector's death, which I sent by way of Boston.

If thou keeps the Government, I wish thou wouldst be pleased to write a tender, affectionate, and yet somewhat upbraiding letter, to Friends here, to be read in all their meetings, shewing still a confidence in the honest, guarding against jealousies, &c. It might, if well timed, I believe, be of service.

Letitia's city lot, amounting to about £2,200 only, of which she carried to England £150 in a bill for £100 sterling; £500 more of this money will not near do for the Manour. I have been offered £1,100 for it by Lewis Morris, who, tired of Jersey, would live among us; but I ask £1,500, yet would take £900 sterling, well paid.

Tho' there were 40 acres cleared at Pennsbury at thy going off, there was but little fit for immediate service. John has cleared, I suppose, 40 acres since, and is resolved to make it pay for itself, tho' he has not been hitherto able to do it. But I have paid him most of his former arrears for six years' service, four in England and two here, and made up all accounts with him fully from the beginning, upon the balance of which there was about £65 this money due. Hugh Sharp's wages, also, drew deep at 20*s.* per week for most of the time before thou went, and £30 per an. for above 12 months after; but, upon John's return from England, that charge ceased. They misinform who say that place goes to ruin. John and Mary are as good servants as any in America, but will not stay upon it unless thou designs over quickly. She has two little children, are healthy, and not troublesome. The garden, 'tis true, is not cultivated, nor is there any reason it should, in your absence. All or most of the pear-trees are dead by blasting.

In any letter thou writes to Friends, pray be pleased not to set such a value as thou dost upon the Charter granted,[1] for

[1] This sentiment will probably create some surprise, as I own it did to me, until I recollected that the persons dissatisfied were, perhaps,

most are of opinion it is not worth so many pence, and if mine were asked, I should still rate it much lower. Thou seems to be in a mistake about the time it was granted, which was either the night or the morning before thou left this place; it was then signed, I mean, and bears date 28th 8br, 1701.

I would beg leave, also, to put thee in mind that one part of the people's inducement to come over were the privileges thou proposed, as well as to have land at 40*s.* per hundred, in which

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rendered so by a comparison of this Charter with one that had been lived under nearly twenty years, and which tradition says had been made to give place to a successor, because some of the more recent inhabitants and the persons in Government of other persuasions thought it was only fit for a "Colony of Quakers," for whom it was first designed, and of whose principles it was indeed an illustrious commentary. And perhaps it is not going too far to call the original frame of Government designed by William Penn for his Province, and the preliminary discourse affixed to it, the fountains from which have emanated most of those streams of political wisdom which now flow through every part of united America, diffusing civil and religious liberty, and favouring the expansion of happiness and virtue.

In order justly to estimate the character of our illustrious Founder, we must take into consideration the times in which he lived, and the difficulties with which he had to contend, and not judge him altogether as we should do one at the present day, when principles are acted on and considered as unquestionable, which were then struggling for a reception amongst mankind, and which, when avowed, cost the gallant Sydney his life.

We should remember that the present times are profiting by the exertions of those generous spirits; "for in the progress of human affairs, mankind build in every subsequent age on foundations formerly laid," and if it be true that "so gradual is the progress of improvement, that human knowledge can only be matured by the experience of ages," what veneration and respect must we acknowledge to be due to the man who, living at a period when the principles of civil and religious liberty had to contend for their existence with a base and sordid despotism, voluntarily stepped forth as their champion, and triumphantly rescued and handed down to us some of the proudest distinctions of his country. A man who spent his whole life and all the means which he possessed in endeavouring to benefit mankind, and finally by exhibiting to the world a scheme of Government founded on the benevolent principles of Christianity, and which was administered by himself in the same spirit, has shewn by the unexampled prosperity and success which has attended it, how consonant such principles are with the true interests of society. Is not a character that could effect such noble purposes entitled to the gratitude and esteem of the latest posterity? — L.

thou was large in thy declarations and prints, which by their accepting of thy proposals altogether, becomes a part of the contract, and therefore, as all things of the kind should, ought as near as possible to be observed. The baseness and ingratitude of some seems to me to lie in this, that they will not weigh what is truly thine and their interest, that each is under obligations to support the other, and that they can scarce be truly happy whilst thou art otherwise; when, instead of this, they lay hold on thy own grants, and what thou put into their hands, tho' they have no value for the thing contended for itself, to clog and hinder business, they are for having, to thine and their own destruction, the last especially. In privileges they are for straining the strings till they break, and in supplies according to the homely proverb for losing a sheep, &c. Their sense, as their soul, is narrow and never designed or settled for one thought squaring with the true spirit of government. Earth, as 'tis their employment, so 'tis the principal object of their thoughts, and their covetous temper to have their own, through ignorance of what is truly so, leads them to grasp at all, that they may be the more sure. Yet, notwithstanding all this, when they have all the privileges they at first contracted for, or were given to expect, 'tis certain they have no more than their due, and therefore these are not so much to be accounted acts of grace as performances of a covenant.

I hope this freedom will not offend, nor be judged according to the maxims of the times too uncourtly. It arises from the best of principles, true friendship, and is built on the most sacred basis of all things to me, the everlasting and unalterable standard of justice.

Be pleased, in matters of government fit to be communicated to others, to write to the Governour himself, and rather refer me to him than him to me, for I would rather have one thing of importance go well than have the credit of being intrusted with ten.

I find little occasion to vary from what I have said in my last about the Sasquehannah business. I have had sharp words with some about it, but it is not so much disaffection as real want — the people know not how to pay, for wheat is still under 4*s.*,

and goods very dear. We have had no effect from the Queen's proclamation as yet, about the Spanish trade. The last accounts from Jamaica inform us that what sloops had gone out were obliged to return, the Spaniards refusing to be concerned with them; but this was owing to some rogueries committed under pretence of trade upon them, and that island seemed to have hopes of bringing them to a better understanding; but upon the return of these vessels, flour fell from three and four and twenty to 14 shillings per hundred, and the greatest unhappiness is that the French, for the last year, taking near half of our vessels, can supply them with these as well as we can with the remainder.

Governour Nicholson, they say, has lost Virginia, and Colonel Parks, the Great Duke's friend, succeeds him; if so, I wish the other were sent to Barbadoes, where I hope his warm blood would not suffer the captains of the frigates to doze thus in harbour, while the privateers come to visit them, almost under the walls — nay, such was their insolence lately, that, by some prisoners put on shore on Barbadoes, they sent to the Governour and told him they were quite tired of guarding his coast for him, that it was no longer worth their while, and they would go in quest of some new game, and therefore advised him to take care of them himself. There has been, as we hear by some prisoners lately returned, as we have many carried into that Island of Martinique, this war, at least 250 sail of all sorts of prizes.

I shall observe instructions in relation to thy Madeira and Fayall trade, when I can raise anything to send; but I beg to be excused if I make William Aubrey's affair the first of my care. I know it concerns thee as nearly as any other debt whatever.

John Lask is not come hither, — for which I am not sorry, finding by his character from one who knew him long that 'tis a good deliverance. I request thee to be sparing in encouraging any such hither. Expectations are easily given to those that are greedy to lay hold of them, but not so easily answered, for the length of the way generally enhances them, as it makes their disappointment heavier, and therefore I again beg thee not to encourage any hangers-on. When thou thinks fit to employ

any others in my stead, I shall cheerfully give way; but the whole business, as I have found it, is scarce worth the uneasiness of a troublesome companion, especially of one that is so full of himself that there is no room for any other's head to have admittance. I cannot yet forget J. S. 'Tis not that I fear having any near me to view my actions, for I should be willing that the whole Province had a sight of the minutest part of my management relating to thy affairs; but I cannot think any proper to be employed for others who have a much more tender regard to themselves than their business, and that is his character.

Alex. Arbuthnot, by whom, now engaged in trade, this goes to Barbadoes, answers the character of his friends, and I believe will do well, giving general satisfaction.

I am troubled to see thee so earnest in demanding a rent-roll with such great expedition, and urging my promise in mine of 10br, 1703, which, upon further examination, if my copy be true, will not appear so; but whether or not, I know my duty when demanded, if it lay in my power. But the Gov'r and thy son arriving soon after the date of that letter, I could do nothing in it last summer, and 'tis a very great and very troublesome work. I have gone three times into one township in order to settle, and yet cannot bring above half the people in; they have no money and are ashamed to appear, so that it takes much time and goes on slowly, but I hope to have one finished for the Province this year, and when done shall send some kind of abstract, but the thing itself takes several quires of paper, and the service of it then I can by no means imagine.

Thy letters to thy son are safe, and shall send them back to thee by the first good opportunity, and shall answer T. Callowhill's to himself, and my kind mistress's. This is called for by the vessel just ready to sail, and therefore, with all due respect and love to the whole family, I must conclude, and subscribe,

Thy faithful and obedient serv't, J. L.

P. S. — I have made bold to enclose one to John Hoop, which I request thee to forward by the post; also one to my brother, for which I shall be obliged; under a cover from thyself, both he, I suppose, and myself will be thankful for.

Reading over my letter, I fear the last page of ye 3d sheet will offend, but if taken as intended, I am sure it cannot. There is great reason, 'tis certain, to be very angry, which seeing it has so *much* fuel from the people's own actions, I would throw in something to qualify rather than increase it. But 'tis certain that 'tis these first bargains have made all the mischief, together with the narrowness of most tempers and baseness of others amongst us. I designed a copy of my last per the Massachusetts fleet with this, but cannot.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

HYDE PARK, 30*th 2d-mo.*, 1705.

I wrote by Burman, giving an account of the receipt of thine from time to time, according to thy own (and a duplicate thereof goes now by Grey, that was taken); but receiving another letter from thee, dated the 22d of 9br last, from New Castle, I was willing to let thee know it, and that in the main I am not dissatisfied with thy hints, and as to my family interest I shall consider of things, tho' hardly to be brought to turn my back entirely upon a place the Lord so specially brought to my hand, and has hitherto preserved against the proud swellings of many waters, both there and here. My surrender of government is before the Lords, a copy of which and conditions, as also of the report of the Attorney-General as to the 37 Laws he excepts against. I send now that you may obviate them before refused by the Queen; the rest shall be confirmed. I can do no more; and what with the load of your unworthy spirits there, and some not much better here, with my poor son's going into the army or navy, as well as getting into Parliament, thro' so many checks and tests upon his morals as well as education; with the loads of debt hardly to be answered, from the difficulty of getting in, what I have a right to, of twice their value, which is starving in the midst of bread, my head and heart are filled sufficiently with trouble. Yet the Lord holds up my head, and Job's over-righteous and mistaken friends have not sunk my soul from its confidence in God.

I therefore urge thee to get in under bond all that is due, — I think a bond to me is of the nature of a judgment, — and get in pay the best thou canst on the oldest, for I shall appropriate most of all the bonds thou hast, to payment of debts to people here; paying these first, and so from time to time by what comes in, be it of bonds or quit-rents, an order to which I shall send by Grey, that commands a new *Messenger*, which will be ready in a month, forty ton bigger than the former, — built to run.

But forget not the directions of mine by Samuel Hollister, and Edw'd Lane, nor that Burman brings. If the counties of the Province are not bounded westward, let them be ordered to run to Sasquehanagh[1] River; and likewise if that of Bucks be not bounded upwards or northward, that it run five times the breadth of the other county, and I would have the said county to be marked northerly by trees or stones monumentally, and that this be done forthwith.

I also desire that a bill I send now, to make bonds assignable and current pay, whether the assignees live or die, be passed in the first Assembly, since money is so scarce, and I also wish you had a *Land Bank*, that so payments might be made easier to all parties, — not overrating the lands to be made the funds thereof.

The Act of Parliament passed here to encourage naval stores to be raised in America, I hope you will take notice of, as far as flax and hemp go; for pitch and tar you have not the means of in our country. But I wish extremely well to potashes and that it may be encouraged, as I hinted once before, and should like that a hundred or two of pounds went that way for my poor children, if valuable, and I told John Jones so, who is now here — but not otherwise.

Thou hast forgot what I writ: 1st, of a rent-roll, to my unspeakable prejudice, for now I know not what I have, — I lose the credit here that would make me easy. 2d. Richard Beaumont's 300 acres on Rancocas Creek, in West Jersey, bought of Wm. Biddle. See my former letters. 3dly. The writings of

[1] The old way, and that most frequently used by William Penn, of spelling Susquehanna. — L.

Daniel Waite are there, for I saw them there, or Wm. Haiges, each selling me a propriety, which forget not. 4thly. About Evans the Pyrate's affair, being teazed here by the people concerned — I mean his relations.

William Penn to James Logan.

10th 3d-mo., 1705.

Lord Cornbury, poor man, is so far from gaining points upon us, that there is no argument left here to keep him there, but the aversion they feel to have him home. We are now in a great strife[1] between Whigs and High Churchmen, and never more struggle at elections than just now. Three Jacobites left out, and five or six chosen. A duel already fought in Cheshire.

My friend Lord Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel are just going upon a great expedition by land and sea.[2] The king of Portugal very ill. News last night of the king of France's death; but so we had fourteen days ago of the emperor's, and likewise King Augustus's of Poland, but no confirmation.

Watch over my just interest, encourage the Governour to be courageous in all reasonable things, keep in with the best of our Friends, and by them work upon the rest, and undermine knaves and hypocrites of all sorts.

Robert Barber owns the packet, and that David Lloyd read the most of it to him, and said it was the Act of the Assembly, which he now pretends to have been his own. That very villany should be punished in a singular manner, and unless he visibly shifts his course, I would have him indicted for it as an high crime and misdemeanor.

My son has lost his election, as also the Lord Keeper's son-in-law, but both hope to recover it by proving bribery upon the two that have it, — Lord Windsor and Squire Arsgell. I wish

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[1] This is no contradiction to what is advanced in the Letter to Judge Mompesson, where it is said that "nothing High Church or violent Whig" seemed to be the choice of the ministry. The People are here meant. — L.

[2] [Sailed 24th May, 1705, for the coast of Spain. — Editor.]

it might turn his face to privacy and good husbandry, if not nearer to us.

To enable you in authority to call David Lloyd to account, I have sent the letter pretended to be written by the authority of the Assembly, only signed by him,[1] which you must wisely get him to acknowledge, that you may either bow him to better manners and gain him, or prosecute to the rigour of the law.

Next, I have sent thee that false Jew's[2] impudent, knavish, as well as ungrateful letter. The greatest wrong I ever did him was to let him have G. F.'s lot in the Front; that he got, more by importunity than money, as also the ———[3] near his own, promising to be zealous for my interest, to pay quit-rents and taxes, and encourage others to do the like, and what not. If any of his misrepresentations can be turned upon him, fail not, for he is a false and ungrateful person.

I would only observe that I know of his and David Lloyd's falsehood, and briefly mention:

1*stly*. The Charter made in England was but probationary, as the conclusion shews; and when the real one was executed, it was with all the solemnity of an interior and exterior Presence, unanimously, as any act could be performed. That which was the great objection at first was, that I would not stand with my Grant and Estate as security to the Crown, for their use of the negative voice, I (by that in London) having but a treble voice in all cases, unless they and theirs would be a counter security to me and mine, which, after two or three days' consideration, agreed rather to leave that power and me the use of it, than to answer for them and theirs.

2*dly*. That Charter was never altered by me, but by the suggestions of his present confederate, David Lloyd, to my regrets,

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[1] [See what has been already said upon this subject in Vol. I. of this *Correspondence*, pages 327, 329, &c. — EDITOR.]

[2] "Who say they are Jews but are not, but are of the synagogue of Satan," is a text of Scripture to which, I suppose, the Proprietor here alludes, designating the person spoken of to be of the same religious profession as himself. — L.

[3] [Blank in the original. — EDITOR.]

as my letters before and my conduct after plainly shewed, and truly, they have not prospered since.

3*dly*. For the last method, established at my arrival, it was carried by so great a majority that I see no blame, and being nearer to English methods, which they called for so often, I acquiesced, having first shown my dislike, as at their disliking the model of an elected Council to prepare an Assembly to resolve, and at throwing away the use of the Ballot, which their children, as I told them, will have, perhaps, cause sufficient to repent of their folly therein.

4*thly*. I have not in the Province so many manors as my tenths come to, viz.: for every 100,000 acres, 10,000 acres, and for my children and Sir J. Faggs for my wife. They bought dearly what they had, their mother lending her estate in land to the value of at least 3,000 or thereabouts to answer my debts, that was raised by selling her hereditary land, or being mortgaged, which was all one.

5*thly*. If any are deficient, it is their own fault, for they had time enough in two years before my return, and three and a half years since to have taken it up. I have not my due, I am sure. I was defeated of my land Charles Ascom laid out in the county of Chester — 10,000 acres — great part of the manor of Springetsbury, Gilberts, and Highlands taken up by encroachers as he well knows. And for the lands of my children thou canst answer upon the spot how Will's[1] and Tishe's have been encroached upon, thro' all the first purchasers, viz., of 100-share men; and pray let the old Surveyor-General's books be examined, and there will be warrants for at least 40,000 acres of land never executed.

6*thly*. Neither himself nor any other person ever once attacked me in the two years I was there, nor accused me, nor applied to me on any of these clamours, which shews what spirit has excited them since those days; having myself lain at stake with purse and pains, these three years and a half, without half a crown from them to support me, and gained so many points for them, and held up their credit. For, were it not for my ex-

[1] His son and daughter by his first wife. —L.

ertions, to-morrow we should be sacrificed to the envy of New York, and to her enrichment, which these misguided people think not of. He appears to be of that spirit Friends always told me he was of, and my kindness being unable to change his character, will soon come over by some old acquaintance of his with what frauds he got what he had with him to America.

For David Lloyd's letter, it speaks for itself, and I desire, nay command, the Governour to call a select council and view the inclosed[1] and see, under the greatest secrecy, what is practical and fitting to be done to thwart these intrigues. But if not to be done to purpose, then to expose the villany and its authors. I think if they own their letters you have room enough to deal with them to purpose, of which let me hear per first [opportunity.]

My son says he had but 20*s.* your money weekly, and that all he spent over that allowance was his own money, from the sale of his land. If thou thinkst confirming the present Governour will be serviceable, I can get it done, or appoint another fit to settle me and mine in our property will do, and is preferable to selling all here, considering a peace is likely to take place this winter, and that many upon that will remove to you to settle among you, and the country will thrive beyond expectation or example. Pray let me have thy best digested and closest thoughts, for I cannot tell how to leave America, tho' the scene[2] those ill men opened to me, after my two chargeable voyages

[1] The copy of David Lloyd's letter. — L.

[2] That this great and good man should have seen with deep regret that there were some sharing his favours, and profiting by his kindness, who proved ungrateful for the one and insensible of the other, we cannot be surprised. Yet it has often been the lot of the greatest benefactors of mankind, and of those who have confessedly devoted themselves to the service of their country, to be repaid in this manner. I have heard the then Secretary of State tell how deeply wounded the great Washington appeared at the first abusive strictures on his government published in Freneau's paper, after all he had braved and done for the country, from motives of the purest patriotism and disinterestedness. Yet surely a knowledge of the world should teach those who are called upon to perform great parts on its theatre, to despise the cavils of the envious and ignorant. The applause of the wise and good is sweet, but that of conscious rectitude alone is necessary. — L.

and stay among them, and never leaving them by choice but by compulsion, and being always at stake here for them and the country, without a groat, for twenty years or thereabouts, and by it sunk in my estate above twenty thousand pounds, and might, out of 1,500 per annum, have saved 700 a year besides, which is as much more — I say, after my hazards, expenses, and pains, and absence from my own dwelling to attend that service, to be treated as a lurcher of the people, and one that had "an interest against them," as David Lloyd expresses it, is more, one would think, than any poor mortal man could bear.

Well, I say, without any bias, but an intrinsick weight, give me, upon thy utmost observations, by converse or recollection, thy sense of it — "*Sell or not?*"

The rent-roll and balance, at least, that I may know what I may call my own, by the first safe opportunity, directed for me as I have before expressed, as "For John Ellis, Esq., at the Cock Pit, at Sir Charles Hedge's Office, Whitehall," or for Robert Harley, Esq., Secretary of State, or one of the Principal Secretaries of State, at Whitehall, and take a receipt for it, and within direct for me; — or, upon second thoughts, rather to "John Tucker, Esq., in Sir Charles Hedge's Office, Whitehall, for the Queen's service," than either of them. I shall only add now, place my Father Callowhill's land, and Jones's, R. Snead's, Jon. Nelson's, Jon. Blaykling's, &c., of which I writ formerly, which he buys, upon some good overplus lands. Vale. We are all pretty well, and salute thee and all our true friends, and the family at Pennsbury. Thy real friend,

William Penn.

Isaac Norris to Jonathan Dickinson.

Philadelphia, 11*th* 3*d-mo.*, 1705.

My Dear Friend Jona. Dickinson: — Thine of the 22d of January and 15th of February came to hand last week. Thine of 25th of 7th-mo. being already answered, I come to these. I cannot but take notice, with much satisfaction, of thy affluence of this world's goods, and heartily pray they may be continued to you blest, well knowing both thyself and dear wife have

hearts and souls fit to use them, yet cannot but be somewhat concerned that 'tis like to be the occasion of your longer stay from us. Burman, in a barkentine, arrived 4 days since, and came out with the West India fleet, where I hope thy brother Caleb is, tho' cannot hear of him, nor never had a line since I wrote to him per thy order about goods, and none came. I hope his coming over will quicken thy departure. As to thy design of sending to Maryland or Virginia, I doubt will not do at present; the fall of tobacco, and no fleet coming this year, makes that nothing will sell for good bills, nor do I know anybody of substance likely or willing to undertake business. The best way is to have it sent from here, if a market offers and the fleet comes, and then 'twill not be much more charge to send around, for altho' they have laid a duty overland, yet no more for going round by sea than which is paid by all. Rum at present is at 2-6, 2-9; then sugar very low; molasses, a small quantity, would sell at 2; but then 'tis done with so much charge and their bills so bad, that will not answer. Thy best way to raise effects here will be to ship thy sugar or produce with fleet to England, and return English goods, which are and perhaps will be, during the war, scarce here. If thou should send to John Askew or Brother Lloyd, they have time to have invoices from me, but if to any else, thou may, for general, substantially order a good quantity brown ozbr, a little white and blue, some dowlas, a pretty many good, narrow and some broad garlix,[1] a few good Kentings, and cambrics, a piece or two of muslin; for woollens, a few broadcloths, not exceeding 8 or 10*s.* per yard; a pretty many good kerseys, a few ha-thicks and cottens, rugs, blankets, and duffels, and any good plain stuffs, worsted camlets, and such like; some plain cantaloons, and plain mixed crapes, &c.; nails, from 6*d.* upwards, Sweed's iron, some haberdashery in small trunks, about 10 or 15*s.* value each, sorted as S. Dry knows, with stitching and sewing-silk, buttons and pins enough. I shall treat with Israel Taylor the first time I see him, but I would advise thee to buy some tract that may be now cheap and a little remote, and may

[1] [We are unable to explain the meaning of some of these terms, whose spelling has been carefully compared with the original text. The productions they indicate are either obsolete in commerce, or exist under another designation. — EDITOR.]

probably pay interest of money till thy children come of age. W. Trent and I bought a tract of young W. P., 7,000 acres, just above Plymouth. As to building on thy lot, it may be very well. I shall take some time to answer thy request of a schooner, but at present think it will be best to build up like the coffee-house, and let the upper parts for tenements and the under for warehouses, but the bank being low, these will admit but one cellar under the dwelling. Thy wharf with most others has received some damage with a storm this spring. Wm. Trent still has it, but talks of building. It will make two tenements, and steps up between them, built over. The great house was complained of to the court, who ordered a jury of inquiry (carpenters and bricklayers), old J. Redman, foreman; and notwithstanding he had before given his opinion of the danger, yet I know not by what means they brought it in sufficient to stand. I wish it proves so. I am heartily glad to hear my niece is so well married. My kind love to them, if it fall in thy way. Our town has had severe losses this year: above seven sail taken, going to Barbadoes and coming thence, and we fear more now missing, in which I am too considerable a sharer, about £1,700 since your last, that I am very near discouraged. I had got, expecting an alteration, most of thine and Isaac Gales' money into heavy pieces of 8-8, that might have the least loss; but I perceive our folks don't think of a change, and my necessities and disappointments have made me break in upon and use some of it again. But it shall not be to your prejudice. Money still goes as formerly in imitation of York, notwithstanding the proclamation is published, we now generally (I mean those that look before them) make our bargains for so many pieces, 8.8*s*., and we think if it alters we shall not be very sensible of loss, for that a piece 8.8*s*., notwithstanding the different denominations, will fetch as much then as now. English goods well bought fetch generally 175 per cwt., and are very scarce.

Thy boys are very well, with our families and friends pretty generally, tho' Rebekah Shippen was taken suddenly with a kind of dead palsy, and so continued speechless about five days, and died about two weeks since. Abra. Carpenter buried his wife in about twenty-four hours, — the like distemper. Friend Richardson was married to Eliza Growden but three or four days

before his mother was taken. Wm. Bings is married to Eb. Stacy. I think of no more but mine and wife's endeared love to you both and little Johnny; conclude this in much love and affection. Your sincere friend,

ISAAC NORRIS.

JAMES LOGAN TO WIDOW MARKHAM, AT YORK.

PHILADELPHIA, 12*th* (*May*) 3*d-mo.*, 1705.

RESPECTED FRIEND:—I have received from thy son-in-law, J. Regnier, the account, as 'tis called, between our Proprietor and thy late deceased husband, Col. Markham, but so confused, so unreasonable, and with an appearance of so much disingenuity, that I could not look it over without amazement. I would impute it to the person being a stranger to the nature of the thing and the perplexedness of the papers, rather than his ignorance of accounts who drew it, in making scarce any distinction that I can perceive between the debit and credit sides; but to what I must impute it, that can be called by any decent name, I know not, that from the beginning to the end of it there is not one article of credit given for any rents he received for two years while he collected them here, except where it falls under some general account with some other persons; whereas we can prove that he received of many of the inhabitants their respective quit-rents duly as other receivers or collectors use to do, but that he should leave no account of them is somewhat surprising. Thy son-in-law assures me that there has not been one paper secreted since Col. Markham's death, and that every scrap he left behind him is ready to be produced. When so solemnly affirmed, and offered further upon oath, I must not mistrust it, but at the same time it falls the heavier upon the person who continued in the business for so considerable a time, and left no memorial of his proceedings behind him but what can be picked up from his scattered receipts abroad. It was doubtless his indispensable duty to keep an exact account of every penny he received, and to give due credit for it; but to neglect this entirely and then to have an account shewed up so fully, set out on the debtor side, and yet all those quit-rents I have been speaking of omitted on the

credit, is a method of accounting that I have hitherto been very much a stranger to. However, though I mention those things, it is not that I think thyself blameable for it, being ready to believe what is so positively declared that thou makes a fair tender of all in thy hands. But seeing those scraps that are left have been so widely misunderstood, I conceive the best and only method will be to send all the papers into some friend's hands of thy own here that has an insight in affairs of the kind, and let him and me settle the account the best we can, for at such a distance 'tis scarce possible to be done. I have no end in it but that all things may be set in the truest light we can, and whatever I can contribute to clear up matters shall not be wanting on my side. I request thee to lay aside all jealousies, for none is less desirous to search or lay hold on advantages in such cases, should they even be offered there, than myself, who am in all sincerity,

Thy cordial and well-wishing friend, J. L.

P. S. — *June 22d.* — Most of the foregoing was wrote according to the first date, but the post going before it was finished, and being soon after called to New Castle, where I have been mostly since, it has been delayed. However, I hope it comes not now too late to be taken in good part, and answer the end, which is to have things set in a true light, and justice done by the easiest methods. J. L.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *17th 3d-mo.*, 1705.[1]

Honoured Governour: — [The writer, after acknowledging the receipt of letters of 5th 2d-mo. last, by Barbadoes, and those by Burman, dated on the 11th and 12th months, with those to Friends and Judge Mompesson, says:] . . . . . the expressions of thy trouble is what with too much reason I expected, but I hope the Author of all strength will give thee sufficient to bear it. . . . In all respects it would be most for thy advantage to

[1] [Many portions of the original are obliterated. — Editor.]

reside amongst us, but then it was with this supposal, that thou wouldst also find it for thy benefit to disengage thyself of the fatigues attending the Government. If otherwise, could we once surmount these difficulties, which I believe can scarce be but by the aforementioned measures, the Government, by thy interest with the ministry at home, may be maintained to thy credit and reputation, and free from the charge to thyself that thou hast hitherto unhappily labored under, for if that designing and artful man, D. Lloyd, was once out, we might set very easy in time. I gave my thoughts very freely before in relation to a surrender, and now do the same, in case that should not prove feasible. But before thou leave England, there is a necessity of procuring the laws to be passed, at some rate or other, for thence arises the people's greatest objection, and by that means they might be most successfully wrought upon. There is no less necessity also of having the lines run between thee and Baltimore, for it now occasions great confusion. We sold Jos. England 1,000 acres near Blackbird's Creek, in New Castle, and after he had paid part of the money, and was seating it, he was drove off it. The Welsh settlers, also, in that county positively refuse to pay their money because of the claims made on great part of the lands surveyed to them, and we can find no possible means here to remedy it. Thy son's interest with Baltimore's son, young Calvert, may facilitate this matter. It may be very advisable, also, I believe, to settle the whole business of the lower counties with the Crown,—for whatever this reign be, perhaps no other can be depended on to be more favorable to thy affairs, and should it be left to be settled by thy heirs, it is not difficult to imagine what advantages the Crown might see occasion to take. This is of the highest importance, being sorely complained of by the inhabitants, and redounds no less to thy own private loss. I must also again press for transcripts of the deeds for the two proprieties in Jersey, otherwise thou wilt lose the advantage of a survey, as Samuel Jennings tells me. I have paid Richard Hill £180 in silver money for William Aubrey, being one year's interest, and hope to clear the rest this spring, and make the trustees some remittances to shorten it, but we want the powers I wrote for. I design to write to Letitia by this opportunity.

This having been the hardest winter and deepest snows that has been known by the oldest amongst us, we have had but one post all this season, whose quick return and short notice allows not to enlarge. The river is still fast, and likely to continue. I hope the next post will reach D. Zachary and the Massachusetts fleet by whom this comes, and would willingly hope also that the uneasiness Mr. Williams' return may have occasioned, is by this time blown over, and some measure taken for his own and thy comfort, which is most heartily desired by thy faithful and most obedient, J. L.

The Proclamation for the money was duly published, but the people do not as yet regard it. There is not a man in the Province but takes money at the old rate.

I [obliterated] thought to have at this time confined myself [obliterated] and because I expect the next post will also reach this opportunity [obliterated] consequence, I shall not much exceed my intended bounds, but I thought fit to add that notwithstanding the orders of the Lords of Trade to Col. Quarry, and his civil behaviour to appearance towards the Government, yet the Governour, who, by his strict frequenting the Church, and being partner in name as well as nation with . . . .[1], is of opinion, from the lights given him, that there is yet still as much malice and [obliterated] machinations as ever at work [obliterated], and letters to the Bishop of London, and fomenting of some divisions among the clergy in these parts, he seems to be secure in his thoughts from any injury they can offer, and that the more they stir, the more effectually they will draw ruin on their own heads. Quarry is exceeding busy in his negotiations, and leaves no stone unturned to have John Moore fixed in the office (of Collector), of whom I have largely wrote before, but if not yet disposed of, C. Eden, who, before this time thou hast heard, I suppose, is among us, seems to have some assurance of an interest that could be made for him by his brother, Roderick Floyd and Henry Graham, with the Lord Treasurer. I wrote before for Henry Brooke, and therefore shall not meddle with it. Charles is at present with me, as it happens, and

[1] Left blank in the original, but the Rev. Evan Evans is meant. —L.

thy son his great friend. I shall not now enter into the detail of thy private concerns, only must take notice that the Susquehanna subscriptions will be managed with great difficulty. I may be bold to say that it was some unhappiness that I was never intrusted, nor had any charge of that matter, which I do not at all mention thro' a desire only to excuse myself, but it is most certainly true that I always thought Samuel Carpenter, and some others of those thou convened at his house before thy departure, had wholly taken the trust upon them, and had taken care to have all things relating to them as effectually done as those were for thy assistance. But when, after thy son's arrival, I called on Samuel for the subscriptions, he had not one by him but that of this town, and two other small ones not worth regarding; the first amounts to not £2,000, and the other two are very insignificant. I have applied to the other Meetings for the rest, but some who, by common report, I thought had subscribed considerably, deny that they ever did anything, and those who are too well known to have done better, have laid such injunctions on the persons in whose custody they are, that it is very difficult to wrest them out of their hands; but I have taken such measures with some of them that I doubt not but where I can prove there are any, I shall oblige them to surrender the whole. My opinion is, that unless the sum will amount to above £5,000, and tolerable good pay, the advantages parted with are so great that it will be scarce worth the while to make a survey, unless there be some better encouragement to the farmers and country in general, than for these two last years has been. It will be exceedingly difficult to get in the subscriptions, for, we may depend upon it, all manner of tergiversations will be used, and if better times should come, more might be made of it. However, if we can make up much about that sum, we shall proceed the best we can; but if thou canst reconcile it to thy own conveniency to visit us before next winter, it would turn to much better account to defer it; but, in the mean time, I shall do all that lies in my power. . . . . .

Isaac Norris to —— ——.[1]

Philadelphia, *the 21st 3d-mo.*, 1705.

My Dear Friend: — I have to add that, since the above, we have four large vessels for Barbadoes and Antigua, ... however, from Jamaica, sugar, molasses, and cotton must do best. I have a favor to entreat of thee, if it may be done without prejudice to thyself, and that is, if thou hast sugar or other goods advantageous for England, that thou wilt order about two hundred pounds (Jamaica money) in two bottoms for my account, to be shipped to John Askew, to go, be sure, with this fleet. It will do me a kindness, and for thy advancing I shall order thee satisfaction. I would not have asked this if I had not been disappointed, for I have agreed within these two months with two vessels to carry my wines (of which I have a choice parcel of old by me) and other goods, but they both loaded for Nevis, hearing of an extraordinary market for flour, and the vessels I expected, wherein I am concerned, I could have commanded, are taken, so that I now cannot possibly perform my intention in time, which was to have some returns by your fleet. I hope Ezekiel has got that money of Mills, J. Rogers exceeds, which will go towards it, or, if thou art willing, the 200 may be shipped besides his, but not above, in a bottom. I suppose the fleet will touch at Madeira, but presume the wine being dear there they take not much, and 'twill rise soon again with you, therefore shall wait my opportunity to ship as I hear from Ezekiel. I am to-morrow going to Maryland Meeting with Proprietor J. Liner Hill, Sister Preston, &c. I have about £600 protested bills, which helps to draw me down, by which I'm disappointed in England, and therefore seek earnestly to get somewhat home your way. We are all well. Mary Elleston, a publick Friend, sails to-morrow for Barbadoes, and if permitted will visit you, and, with our dear love to you all, I conclude.

Isaac Norris.

[1] [It does not appear to whom this letter was addressed. — Editor.]

James Logan to William Aubrey.

New Castle, *30th 3d-mo.*, 1705.

Loving Friend: — I received thine of the 11th month last, expressing thy great dissatisfaction at the treatment thou hast met with, and in answer can only say I have as great reasons to be troubled as any man that our circumstances should give such occasion for resentment. But while thou takes it to be so intolerably hard, I wish thou wouldst please to remember that the first order I had to pay the interest was in the 12th-mo., 1704, by thy brother, and the letters thou received were of the 8th-month following, in which time, as things then stood, it was impossible for me to answer expectations. Soon after, I paid off one year to Richard Hill, and since have advanced part of a 2d, and about the time the 3d is out, or soon after, I hope to clear it all. I have not yet received one penny more of the principal, the £400 out at interest, which I cannot yet get in, besides what I told thee is in thy father's business, which I shall endeavor to clear as soon as possible, being next to the interest the first money shall pay. But good bills are exceeding difficult to be procured, for we have none at all of our own, and I need not inform thee how much those of Maryland and Virginia, which have been our supplies, have failed. I wish thou wouldst agree to have the whole paid here, at any reasonable exchange, to some agents of thy own, for that would be the readiest way to put an end to it. If not, I can do no more than to pay the interest till such time as money comes in and bills can be procured. But I admire there is no notice taken of that, I so lately wrote to thy father-in-law, our Proprietor, by thy brother, about fuller powers that we may have something to get money by, for we can scarce get one farthing by those we have. As to thy sending some persons over to look after the whole affairs, I should be very well satisfied if there were any reason to believe it would have any other effect than an unnecessary charge to him who is at too much already. I assure thee I have no other reason to be fond of the business than my zeal to serve those concerned in it, and were it not for my other engagements in thy father's affairs, which necessarily put into my hands, I

should have no cause to take a release from the whole unkindly, for I very well know my reputation is in great danger to suffer through the difficulties of our circumstances, and the uncharitable judgments that are apt to be made there of our actions here. But as long as I am interested, I shall discharge myself with a good conscience, and to the best of my power, whether favorably or unkindly treated, to my employer's advantage. Since the first money before thy marriage, there has been none, or ever shall be any, converted to thy father's use, but still paid and remitted as fast as it can be got in, and that which has been so converted shall be honestly paid with interest till the time. Had I any interest with thee, I would earnestly press thee to bear as much as possible with the hardships, the ingratitude of an unworthy people here lays him under, who deserves a much different treatment from their hands, especially while thou art secured from losing anything thou hast been given to expect; for thy wife's estate, unless the country be ruined, is fully able to make all good that is engaged, as I design to convince thee by the next good opportunity by draught and account of it — the town-lots especially. What I wrote about the £100 bill which thy wife carried over with her, arose from no inclination to have any retrospection made, but an information I received that it was ordered so, and what I desired was only to be better advised; since her brother's departure, I have wrote twice to herself, but her last was so exceeding sharp that I despair of pleasing her by any returns I can now make; and therefore must be silent, till time shall better enable me to give her satisfaction. Be pleased to inform her that a few days ago, and not before, I saw C——, late Pemberton, now Jenkins, and she has accounted for her saddle. The money I shall remit by first opportunity. I wrote last week to thy brother-in-law, but cannot now. I am troubled that what I wrote of Janney has not answered expectations; he could not, I think, be so base as not to have sent the bills to Friend Plumstead. I have not spoke with him since the receipt of thine, he having ever since been at New York. I shall help Lyford what I can, but I admire at thy choice. I request thee, for the sake of thy alliance to a family I heartily love and honor, to believe that whatever disappointments thou

meetest with, they are owing to no want of good will or care in me, who am, with hearty love and respect to thyself and consort,

Thy assured friend, J. L.

James Logan to Thomas Callowhill.

New Castle on Delaware, 30*th* 3*d-mo.*, 1705.

. . . . . The lot in the 2d street is 51 feet in breadth and 300 in length, joins, on the one hand, on Hugh Derburough, an honest Friend, and, on the other, on a lot lately purchased of the owners by the vestry of the Church of England, for their service; the said D——, therefore, earnestly requests he may have the refusal of it, if not on purchase yet upon lease, the others having an eye upon it, and could they obtain it, his present dwelling would become so inconvenient he must be obliged to leave it, which is their desire. He joins close upon their chapel. It was laid out to thee there in favour, a vacancy being found, and is worth about £50 or £60, but, we depend upon it, thou wilt not sell it. A lease will accommodate him. If my kind mistress be there, pray let this thank her for her favour by S. H., and assure her I shall not be wanting to answer her expectations to the utmost of my power, none being more devoted to her just interests than myself, who, with hearty love and respects to thyself and wife, not forgetting other friends, I am thy assured and faithful friend, J. L.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, 4*th* 5*th-mo.*, 1705.

Friend Governour: — I wrote largely by way of Barbadoes, 5th 2d-mo., and again by Ffial [Fayal?], and Maryland, 17th and 30th of the 3d-month last, some of which I doubt not but will come to hand.

At writing the last of these, I had no knowledge of Quarry's design for England so soon, but he is gone from hence in order

to it, about two weeks ago, and will doubtless be mischievous there. I suppose the account that Blaithwait sent the Secretary of York [New York], of thy being about surrendering the Government, has hastened him. At his going off, the Governour took him aside at W. Tonge's house at New Castle, and, after some short discourse, he made all the protestations of friendship that were possible, declaring that he would do the Governour all the service that lay in his power, and that he had nothing in the world to complain of, or objection against him.

We all know, however, how far he is to be trusted. He made Col. Hamilton the same when he last went over, and broke them all as soon as there. But could a certain person here — who, having business in England, is extremely desirous to go over by the same opportunity — but find ways to effect it, he might prove such a rut in his way as might render his journey very fruitless, by destroying that interest which has been so serviceable to him and his party, the Bishop of London's. If he can possibly bring his matters to bear, he will do it without delay; if not, he will find means, I suppose, to weaken him in a cause where it will not be suitable for thee to appear, or be concerned. In the meantime, as he promised me at parting at New Castle to wait upon thee immediately after his arrival, hoping, he said, there would be no further cause of difference, so I would humbly offer it as my opinion, that it would be most advisable to hold it fair with him, without seeming to understand or suspect any cause of dissatisfaction; at the same time, guarding thyself as much as possible, and observing his designs. If that gentleman cannot get over by this opportunity, yet there will be such an interest, I suppose, made with the Bishop, as will very much stagger his.

What is most to be feared is lest he shall come upon the nick of thy surrender and make terms; but I have this to offer, that, in case it be not over nor the chief terms concluded on, so as to put it out of danger, thou may safely, I believe, stand off and resolve to hold it till a better opportunity; for I am of opinion the Government here in a little time may be in as good order in all respects as can almost be wished for or desired. The Assembly, running upon unexampled extravagancies, is

now dismissed for this year, and Friends are generally so uneasy at their proceedings that they have drawn up the letter to thee I mentioned before in my last, to which almost all the profession sign, declaring their abhorrence of that letter sent to thee by R. Barber, and assuring their readiness and perfect willingness to support all the charge of Government, without any burthen to thee, are making the strongest interest they possibly can to carry the next election, I will take care to choose the best and ablest men in the Government. Indeed I would wish that, now their eyes are fully opened, it might not prove too late, but that they might have one opportunity more which I doubt not but would redound to thy interest and honor. But, if the surrender be already over, I could heartily desire that letter, as it is drawn, had never been attempted, for 'tis wrote so friendly, and with the expression of so much duty, notwithstanding they fail not to put thee in mind of all things that they take to be honestly their due, that, should nothing at all be done in the surrender to answer it, it might be turned to an ill use by thy enemies, though wrote by thy heartiest friends. It was drawn up in great haste at the rising of the Assembly, that the honest members of it might sign it before they went out of town, among whom thou wilt think it strange that Joseph Growdon should be the first, and is managed by Doctor Owen, Caleb Pusey, and R. Hill. I had no hand at all in the draft of it, whether well or ill. It will come, perhaps, with this, or the first Virginia ships. I send copies of the last proceedings of the Assembly inclosed. Such as go before these were sent in my last, two ways. Thou wilt be startled, I believe, to hear it alleged that the quit-rents were reserved for the support of Government; but in case we have another Assembly, the more these men offer of this kind, it is the better, for it still exposes them the more.

When the Assembly had adjourned on the 23d 3d-mo. last, the Governour, the same evening, sued William Biles in an action of £2,000 for saying these words on the 11th-month last: "*He is but a boy; he is not fit to be our Governour. We'll kick him out; we'll kick him out.*" And at the ensuing Court, himself not appearing, and David Lloyd, his attorney, demurring upon a plea

of privilege as an Assemblyman, which was overruled, he was ordered to plead over and come to an issuable plea; but this he refused, and therefore judgment went against him yesterday. A jury of inquiry sat upon the damages, and found £300 to the Governour,[1] which was much less than was expected, though 'tis possible may come before the Queen by appeal, for William is still in it; besides that, he denies the words, but a great many Friends are fully satisfied that he spoke them; besides the positive evidence that he said them too, being now largely convinced of the baseness and folly of his temper, his meddling, talkative, conceited humour, and the strange shortness of his memory, in forgetting and denying this minute what he said the next before, —yet he very much influences that debauched County of Bucks, in which there is now scarce any one man of worth left.[2] Phineas,[3] its father, and honest Richard Hough being gone, but Samuel Carpenter, I suppose, will be prevailed to stand for it next election, whose interest, joined with Joseph Growdon and Jer. Langhorne, which two last were the only that stood for thee of that place the last Assembly, 'tis hoped will be able to carry it, but we have the least hopes there of any part of the Government. In Philadelphia County there was but one on the right side, Reece Thomas, and in Chester five, as thou wilt see by the letters.

The Governour, as I wrote before from New Castle, held an Assembly there, recommending to them only the defence of themselves and support of the Government; for the first, they agreed on an act for the militia, which the Governour happened to pass that morning. Col. Quarry was there, being the day they wrote, but they were amazed, and given to expect other things; he would pass nothing else of what they had prepared, though several of their bills were not amiss. The holding an

[1] [In this day of unlicensed speech, especially in political affairs, a verdict in any sum, for the use of language so mild as that declared to have been uttered, would excite more than surprise. — EDITOR.]

[2] [Such was the Secretary's zeal for the Proprietary interests that he was not inclined to regard with favor those who were arrayed against them. — EDITOR.]

[3] [Phineas Pemberton is referred to. — EDITOR.]

Assembly there is only a . . . . .[1] to carry on such things in support of the Government; but I am of opinion 'tis best to waive all other kind of laws until they have fuller powers; for, though they acted in conjunction with the Province, upon the foundation of the King's Charter, yet separate, I see not how they can pretend to it. As for the support, they declared their willingness and readiness, but excused themselves for their poverty, till they should be better enabled to do it. A plea that we must own is but too well grounded, for these counties were never in so wretched a condition, 'tis declared by all that have known them, since this was a Government. I send thee the Governour's speech, the Militia Act, and their answer to that of the support pressed upon them just before their rising.

Wm. Clark was Speaker; he and three Friends more entered not only their dissent but protest against it. Yet William, as Speaker, as Peter Footwell was also at Burlington, was obliged to sign it. The same night he sickened, as he thought of a surfeit of cherries, and in two days died at New Castle. The Governour and most of the company being come away, we were all extremely surprised at the account of his death, and for my own part I am not a little grieved, for I think, notwithstanding all the faults alleged against him, he was the best man in those parts, a credit and support to them, and, I am confident, will be greatly missed. I have always been very sharp upon him for what he received, and therefore believe he had very little in his hands, and gave him frequent directions about his accounts, so that I hope we shall not suffer. I intend down hither in the fall, but cannot before . . . . . .

Thy daughter is sharp upon me for making thee turn merchant, but I think I have done nothing of that kind, but what I have express orders for, and, in pursuance of these orders, have acted by the best directions, and in the best company; however, as success must be accounted the standard of merit, and thy affairs have had no great share of it, I expect no more favour from the world for my want of it, than if I fell as far short in honesty upon the plainest discoveries; but my happiness is that

[1] [Blank in the original. — EDITOR.]

with thyself I am secure where I am well satisfied that an honest and punctual discharge of an important duty, with a hearty zeal and affection, will fully atone for the want of the other that lies in no human power; besides that, the ill-fortune, if one may call it so, lies not at my door — I follow orders, contrive for the best, and more cannot be expected . . . . . .

R. Hill has sent one of the letters from Friends round the whole country, and others sent afterwards.

I am, with all dutiful affection to myself and family,

Thy faithful and ob't serv't, JAMES LOGAN.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN, JR.

[*Extract.*] PHILADELPHIA, *6th 5th-mo.*, 1705.

. . . . . Our Assembly increases in wickedness, but is now sent home this year about its business. The country is very angry with that party, and is resolved to choose such instruments of mischief no more. But, perhaps, before we have another opportunity, we may have or hear of another commission.

Col. Quarry is gone over in haste, I suppose, with something relating to that, in his head. He parted very friendly, and gave the greatest assurances of very honest intentions. I would therefore advise that he might be kept fair with, while he keeps himself so, and only well watched, that there may be nothing secretly contrived underhand. I have been large to thy father, to whom must refer especially about the Governour's suing Biles in an action of slander, and recovering a judgment for £300 upon it. The action was laid for £2,000, but the jury being very ill-chosen gave no more. The words were: "He is but a boy, and not fit to be our Governour; we'll kick him out." There is sent over copies of a message to the Assembly on this head, and their noble answer. Thy father has all. I am, with hearty respect and affection to thyself, consort, and children,

Thy faithful friend to serve thee, J. L.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, 13*th* 5*th-mo.*, 1705.

HONOURED GOVERNOUR: — My pen has been but too much accustomed of late to entertain thee with melancholy subjects of which the following, I fear, will prove none of the least.

The 10th instant, in the morning, Edward Shippen, Doctor Owen, and myself, Commissioners of Property, (Thomas Story being absent,) were desired to meet David Lloyd, Isaac Norris,[1] and John Moore, upon a business they had to communicate to us, which proved to be a letter from Philip Ford to them, dated 29th of 1st-mo. last, arrived by way of Barbadoes, informing them that in March, 1697, his father had purchased of thee the Province of Pennsylvania and Territories in fee, and on the 1st of April following had granted thee a lease of it for three years, at the rent of £630 per annum, which term expired the 1st of April, 1700, and that since that time thou hadst been but tenant at will. He further added that, since his father's death, thou hadst paid thy rent but dully, (I use his own words in the whole,) and that now there was above £2,500 sterling due; that therefore they, meaning, I suppose, himself and sisters, were resolved to take the country into their own hands, and had appointed the said persons their attorneys; that by the Virginia fleet, which would sail the next month, viz., April, they would send powers that were then preparing; in the mean time he desired them to give notice to the inhabitants not to pay thy agents any quit-rents, for if they did it would be in their own wrong. This, as far as I could charge my memory, for they thought not fit to give a copy, are the true contents of the letter. At shewing it to us, the worst of them pleaded it was in good will, and from thence we might take a caution not to proceed in sales; and it seemed to us to be fully agreed on between them to conceal it from all other persons, at least till the powers should arrive; but David presently after made it publick. Isaac Norris, thou may depend on it, is thy hearty friend. J. Moore pretended to

[1] Isaac Norris's name was inserted as one of their Commissioners in Ford's first letter, but was left out afterwards as being friendly to the Proprietor. — L.

be very honourable in the case, yet, I believe, is not displeased at it; but to David doubtless it is as agreeable — as it is at this conjuncture unhappy to be in his hands; for it is to be expected he will press it both by letters to Philip and here, to an extremity that he may get by it.

This unusual method of giving security is strangely surprising to all kinds of men; our enemies make reflections upon it very disadvantageous, and thy friends who were rallying now, more than for a long time before, are extremely grieved, notwithstanding we all know it is no more than security given for the payment of the £10,500, and that what he calls the rent is the interest of that sum. But the granting it away in fee, without any defeasance but a lease, is, if true, what none can understand, If this step was made by Philip without thy knowledge, the account of it must needs startle thee; but if so, I humbly crave leave to move that all gentle methods may be used to retrieve him out of the hands of those who seem to have been his counsellors, and that he may be brought to hearken to reason. But thou may assure thyself, after this instrument and powers are once produced, all payments will be stopped, in general, till this great incumbrance is taken off, which, I heartily desire, thy surrender of the Government may enable thee to do, and as far as that fall short, that Thomas Callowhill would be prevailed on to contribute and take some equivalent for it here, especially seeing he is inclinable to remove hither.

I shall, for my own part, hasten to finish a computation of the value of the rents and overplus lands, &c., and intend to come over with it, with all expedition, in case I can get in enough to clear Wm. Aubrey's, and some other incumbrances, which, I fear, will prove somewhat difficult, for even bonds that are for lands will now be disputed, seeing what they bought, as it will be alleged, was granted away to another before. The confusion and unhappiness both to thyself and others that will arise from this is so obvious that I need not note it, especially the presentments as well of the London company as other purchasers, unless it is timely remedied. Some would hope thou art privy to it, but by the language of the letter, for it appears to have been done in a pet and upon ill-natured advice, it seems not probable.

However it be, I have a kind of confidence that its coming to light may, with good management, prove not much to thy disadvantage, because it will both oblige thee to bring matters to an issue, which otherwise might have been long delayed to thy irreparable loss, and further will excuse thee for what thou art obliged to do upon such a pinch of necessity; but I hope thou wilt always be pleased to remember thy friends, who have resolved of late upon the base proceedings of others, to exert more courage in thy behalf, and make it manifest that thou art not yet abandoned by thy people.

I cannot enlarge here, having three of these to write, by so many different ways of conveyance, which offer to-day, viz., Fayal, Madeira, and Jamaica, and shall continue copies by some others. My place here will not be of much account till matters are settled, and I may be of service to thee there in the doing of it, which alone will induce me to undertake the voyage. It will be four months, I doubt, before I can be ready, but if thou disapproves of my intention, pray use all opportunities to acquaint me with it, of which the packet-boat to Barbadoes in summer-time may prove none of the worst. I sent a large packet last week to Virginia by the *Strombolo* frigate, informing of Col. Quarry coming over, &c., of which I possibly cannot get copies now ready, nor can I add but that I am, with all dutiful respect and sincere affection, thy faithful and obedient servant,

JAMES LOGAN.

P. S.— 18*th* 5*th-mo.* — What puts me upon resolving to come over, is the belief that nothing can be of more service to thee there, but money itself, than an exact account of the whole value of the Province and Territories in rents, arrears, and lands, which I would labour to bring over, and complete enough to form any proposal upon it, tho' it should not be exact to the greatest nicety; but the great strait I am under is how to reconcile this to the haste that is necessary to dispatching it; however, thou may depend upon it, I shall use all the dispatch I can, and stay no time after I can finish it, but for an opportunity, which I would take by any safe way, for I should not so much value going into France myself, as the losing papers and accounts. J. L.

Isaac Norris to Jonathan Dickinson.[1]

10th of 6th-mo., 1705.

I write this chiefly to enclose one from Samuel Carpenter, who, understanding thy inclination to buy somewhat of value here, makes the offer, that estate at Bucks[2] is a valuable and improvable thing, but has straitened Samuel and run out abundance. I am not very well acquainted with it, but by all discourse it must be, if well managed, an immediate good income, and a growing estate for posterity, because of the quantity of the land, and richness of the islands. I believe if thou wert here, it would please thee and suit thy genius, but advise thee not to buy Samuel clear out at first, because it is at present troublesome to manage, and he well acquainted with all its advantages and disadvantages. That honest and valuable man, whose industry and improvements have been the stock whereon much of the labors and successes of this country have been grafted, is now weary of it all, and resolved, I think prudently, to wind up and clear his incumbrance. He has sold some good pennyworths, as his dwelling-house by David Lloyds and the Coffee-House. ....

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *22d of 6th-mo.*, 1705.

Honoured Governour:—Three of thine I have lately received, one by Ch. Dunster, another by York, dated 10th of 3d-mo., which is the latest, and the other by Jno. Guy; of all which the principal part that I shall now take notice of, not omitting other heads of moment, shall be thy commands to give my best digested thoughts in relation to thy interest here. 'Tis a talk, I am very sensible, that would require a much abler head and hand; but the best thoughts and judgment I am at present master of I shall communicate, and humbly offer to thy consideration with the greatest plainness and freedom. The two principal heads that occur to be considered will doubtless appear to be:

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[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.] [2] Mills at Bristol. — L.

First, by what means thou may clear thyself of those heavy incumbrances that pressed thy estate with such a weight, now especially when the course of nature has brought thee to decline so far below thy meridian; and next, to make the best provision thou canst for thy posterity, with a due regard at the same time, in relation to both, to thy honour and former engagements. I should be more capable of judging of the first, hadst thou ever been pleased to make me acquainted with them in particular, but as thou hast not, I must do my best by conjectures. I heard E. Singleton, when here, say—who, I believe, was admitted far into the knowledge of thy affairs—that £10,000 sterling would make thy circumstances very easy; but finding now the debt to Philip Ford to be about £13,000 in all, and daily increasing, and some other incumbrances which I have heard hinted, makes me now fear they are 16 or 18 at least; for I would unwillingly believe, from thy saying sometimes thou art sunk £20,000 in thy estate, that thou really owest so much sterling. This is an ungrateful, melancholy inquiry, I know; but it cannot be too much thought of, because it must all, by some means or other, be paid, and how to find those means is now the business to be considered of, otherwise I am sure my pen should never have been so bold as to touch them; but I must say that I take the discharging of these debts to be the first of all worldly things to be laboured. Justice indispensably requires it; besides that, 'tis impossible for thee and thine to be easy in the enjoyment of anything till this be done; and still the longer 'tis delayed, the weight becomes daily the heavier; but of this thou canst not but be so fully sensible that this notice of it may be reasonably thought superfluous. To return then to the means. The only bottom for this that I know of is, either what can be made out of the Province, &c., or be expected from the Crown, in consideration of the surrender of the Government or the whole. I am sorry I am not capable, by this opportunity, to send thee so exact an account as I have designed, and hope shortly to make good; but by such an estimate as I can now form, I am of opinion that, could the nation be assured of an advantageous peace, and thou of thy life, in a few years thou might raise £25,000 of this money out of it, as it has lately gone, and still goes, but how to

remit it, come what will, will still be the great difficulty. I computed roughly to thy son, that there might be about 10 or £20,000 due to thee of all kinds of debts whatever, and that I had bonds for about £2,000, part of that; and this doubtless led him into that great mistake of my having £14,000 in obligations, which was very groundless, and I should think might justly be incredible. Were it once possible to get all this in, there might be raised besides perhaps about £12,000 more of the same money by several ways with good application of thy own, and some convenient incitements to the people to help thee at so great a pinch as when all may be represented to be going from thee, unless prevented by timely assistance. Nay, by selling quit-rents, and all the other methods that might be used, and thou might make the whole sum amount to £30,000 in all, of this money upon a great necessity; that is, contract with people and get obligations for so much, thyself being present, and all things brought to a good agreement, in case trade could flourish again; but as there neither is, nor is like to be, as far as I can judge by the state of times, any such sum due to thee, so, after all, I should prefer 12 or £13,000 sterling in money, in London, to £25,000 of the best debts that can be made to thee here; besides that, thou would scarce find any one such friend in the world that would not favour thee, as the London Company did at thy departure thence. When people buy to help others, and the vendor sells of necessity, there is not a chapman in a thousand but will have the commodity at half value, if it be of a kind that bears no current price, as lands in quantity here do not, nor, perhaps, ever will; then the difficulties of payment and remittances are so great, that 'tis worth a much greater allowance than is generally thought to manage it, upon which I shall only say this, that tho' our exchange here is accounted at but 50 per cent., yet I would not, for 180 paid me down, be at this time obliged to pay £100 in London, which I mention upon no other account whatever than to give thee a juster notion of what relates to thy affairs. 'Tis long since I told thee the best way of using thy estate here would be to live on it in the place, but I was not then sensible of the weight or nature of thy incumbrances, which I am now very well assured required speedier management and

discharge. Allow that thou hast in all £15,000 sterling to pay therewith, the yearly interest at 6 per cent. is £900 sterling per annum, which, if not duly paid, still adds to the former sum, this at 50 per cent., the common exchange, makes £22,500 of this money, would exchange hold as it now goes, and could remittances be made effectually, that sum would do; but should all things go even to our wishes as to trade, &c., this sum would not possibly be raised by all the extraordinary methods that could be used in less than four or five years' time, in which the interest would amount to at least £5,000 more of this money. But the change of money by the Queen's Proclamation, notwithstanding I doubt not but thou expected an advantage from it, yet as I still in my letters dissuaded thee from encouraging it, so now I shall demonstrate the change to be the most pernicious thing to exchange, and therefore to thy affairs, of the kind that could happen. Money, as it went by our law and still goes, is at least 80 per cent. advance above sterling, counting one weight with another, for though 17 cwt. at 7*s.* be but £75 9*s.* per cent., yet 16 cwt. at 17*s.* 4*d.* is £78 7*s.*; 15 cwt. at 7*s.* is £81 12*s.*; 14 cwt. at 6*s.* 8*d.* is £85; 13 cwt. at 6*s.* 4*d.* is 89, and 12 cwt. at 6*s.* is 94 per cent. advance above the sterling value, which is 3 1-12*d.* per cwt. So that taking the whole species together, it cannot be accounted at less than 80 per cent. in general, and yet, thro' the blind inconsiderateness of the people, bills par at 50 per cent., which is 30 below the value. Now when money is lowered to the Queen's Proclamation, which is just 1-3 or 33 and 1-3 per cent. above sterling, and is lower than the best money we have by above 40 of our advance, (for taking 33 1-3 from 75, the exchange of our best money there remains above 40, which yet in exchange is to be accounted but about 30 per cent. advance,) discount then off, £100 of our present money, after the rate of 30 per cent. to reduce it to the new regulation, and it will make £76 18*s.* 6*d.* of that money in lieu of our former £100, and when this is afterwards to be remitted and reduced to sterling, accounting the exact exchange of 33 1-3 per cent., or the 1-3 of £100, (for 4*s.* 6*d.*, the sterling value of 17 1-2—being advanced to 6*s.*—is just 1-3 more,) and it makes £57 13*s.* 10 1-2*d.*, which is all we have for the former £100 of present money; whereas by the

present exchange of 50 per cent. we should have £66 13*s.* 4*d.*, and even this reckoning is of pieces only of 17 1-2 cwt., of which we have very few, in comparison of those of a less weight, which at 8 per cent. would reduce the £100 to 55 by that unhappy middle step in the way that will oblige people to look into the intrinsic value of money and exchange. But as the country in general cannot come to this nicety, so I believe the fall of payments on the fall of the money will be after the rate of 25 per cent., or 20 off the 100, which is all one, and will reduce that sum (£100, I mean, of the present money) to £80 of the regulation, which being, as I said before, 1-3 above sterling, that 80 falls again to 60, and this raises the common exchange from 50 to 66 2-3, a very great loss, in debts now due that should be remitted; for whereas £1,500, as the exchange now is, is reckoned equivalent to £1,000 sterling, it will then require £1,666 13*s.* 4*d.* to make good that sum. But had the money been wholly reduced at once to sterling, it would fully have answered the ends proposed by the Proclamation, and left an open way to discount on even 50 per cent., which is taking 1-3 of the money. But I have been too particular, perhaps, in these calculations to trouble thee with them. My intent is to show the unhappy consequence of this alteration upon account of exchange to us in this country above all others, who have raised our money the highest and yet kept the exchange so much below the true par, to our own advantage, 'tis true, but to the loss of others who are to receive sterling money here, by which, perhaps, it may in time be of advantage in the quit-rents that are to be spent here in the place; but in all remittances it will either be as diskindness or no favour. Another advantage in reducing it quite to sterling, would have been that it would put the payment of quit-rents upon the English deeds that barely mention a shilling per cent. beyond dispute, which, I fear, some or other, in time as the country grows more cunning and ill-natured, will be so troublesome as to call in question. My design in these calculations of exchange is further to shew thee that over and above £5,000 necessary to be allowed for interest, while the £15,000 sterling, or £22,500 this money, is paying off. Allowing that 20 per cent., as I said before, must be discounted off all debts that

are not sterling, or should the prices of lands and goods fall so much to keep even with the money, (as, considering money the standard of all value without regard to rise and falls of markets, 'tis reasonable to expect they should,) it will then require at least £22,000 more on that loss of exchange to clear the above sum, which will raise £15,000 sterling, with the interest and loss on exchange, were it all to be paid in bills after the money is changed, to near £30,000 of such money as now goes; and tho' thou may be ready to answer in thy own thoughts that money falling and reduced to another regulation, it will no longer go according to the present rules, and therefore not require such a sum, yet I dare take upon me to assure thee thou wilt find the consequence very near as I have represented it, through the falling of debts and lands proportionably, sterling debts only excepted; yet if the lower reckoning please thee better, 'tis but calling that £30,000 £24,000 of the new regulation which may pretty nearly answer it, but the unhappiness is that those names no way alter the thing — for £15,000 makes £20,000 of the new, and the £5,000 present current money for interest makes the other four.

I have now shown thee how much it will require to pay off £5,000 sterling there, could it possibly be raised here, as in a few years, with peace and very good management, perhaps, it might, but even under these circumstances it could scarcely be done without drawing in the greatest number of thy friends to contribute by purchases which, as I noted before, would be at low and easy rates, and yet still they would account thee much obliged to them, as much almost as if they had redeemed thee from captivity, for the lower the soul, as ours here are very low, the higher always they rate all their favours. I speak not of all, but those that are otherwise are too insufficient of themselves to do all that's necessary.

Yet thus far I have only considered what might be hoped for in case the Province should flourish again, and money become plenty, which, without an advantageous peace, is not to be expected. Thou art pleased, indeed, to mention it, as a thing granted, that next winter will produce one which, whether or not will be easiest to judge there before this can well come to hand,

for the expiring year will by that time show what has been done in this most important campaign, or to be expected in the remainder of it. Yet, if I may venture my thoughts, I should presume to say 'tis a matter of so much difficulty, that 'tis scarce to be imagined that a whole year will be sufficient to negotiate it. That of Nimeguen cost several, and made its advances according as the armies did in the field, becoming more easy or difficult as the one side or the other was more or less successful; and what made France the more nice was because they could have no other prospect, but that it was to be a peace in earnest, and each must sit down with the shares allotted to them. Ryswick was more hasty, though it continued a year, but seems to have been pressed by France to secure an end which they have since obtained. But can any man now imagine that, notwithstanding all parties have reason to be weary of the War, an affair of such importance as settling the Spanish Monarchy, can be at once determined? France, 'tis certain, has no occasion for a war; their business is only to defend; but will the Confederates ever yield to Peace while they can stand it out, without obliging France to give them a satisfactory security upon the conjunction of the two Crowns, in case they cannot oblige them to part. If they do, they will certainly know they had much better never have begun, but at once have owned their lord and master. Or will France or Spain ever agree to suffer that Monarchy to be dismembered? Will that haughty people ever suffer a foreign monarch to sit easy on their throne that will agree to so manifest an injury to their imaginary greatness? This must doubtless make the matter so exceeding difficult, tho' it may be much for their interest to bring on a negotiation the better to render their enemies more languid in pushing it forward, and that they may gain time from so very vigorous a prosecution which must be allowed now to be the Confederates' only game. I say it will be so difficult that it cannot in reason be expected to be brought to so speedy a period unless we could give them one or two more blows, such as that of Blenheim. If this be done, indeed they may be glad to take up with any terms, but while the Grand Monarch has one inch to stand on, 'tis not to be imagined he will so far tarnish his honour and ruin again his so lately erected

temple of glory. Nor does there seem any very great reason to expect it, tho' another, 'tis true, may possibly happen again, as well as that of Hochstadt. The Empire, formerly the source of so many brave armies, is now almost like Spain to France, become rather a burden than advantage, yet worse on this score, that as that gives the other money, this takes it from us, while Savoy, by our last advices, seems utterly ruined. Our expenses will soon be found insupportable by not only maintaining so great an army of our own in a foreign country whence the money does not return, but likewise paying Prussia, Savoy, and Portugal, besides what the fleet also expends there; and yet all the time scarce an ounce of bullion comes into the Nation, or a piece of the Queen's coin to be seen more than a medal. While France considers this, unless forced to it by hard blows and the newer mode of fighting, he will doubtless use all endeavors to wear us out a few years longer.

But what is ordained in the dark womb of futurity none can behold; 'tis the business of human prudence, however, to consider from the past and present what probable hereafter. I write not this that I desire to meddle with the mighty affairs of state at home, for whether my reasoning be just or the contrary, I am sensible, from my figure in the world, I have no right to touch with them; yet, as I am now only considering what relates to thy affairs and that of the peace, being so necessary an article, I hope I shall be easily excused, and that what I write will be considered, if the story of the present campaign turn it not quite out of doors. I have now in a great measure examined the grounds thou hast to depend on this Province, by which thou wilt too plainly find the great difficulty as well as uncertainty of raising such a sum as will be necessary, to which please add thy unhappiness in remittances, and then, I suppose, thou wilt readily conclude some other means are to be taken to answer thy exigencies, and that, I take next to be, by selling there, I am of opinion that a place so new as this, and yet so greatly improved, with the mighty character it obtained of late, tho' at present our credit be such as gives many people there a much greater esteem of the value of it than it really deserves, and that considering thou hast still a claim on the Crown for thy father's

debt, thou might, for a surrender of the Government, only get 12 or £15,000, and some tolerable terms also for the people, to which wouldst thou add all the soil but the improved part, with an addition of a few miles to Bucks County, and running back to Susquehanna, thou might get perhaps 8 or £10,000 more. Admit, in the whole, £20,000 for all which thou wouldst not part the value of £3,000. Were the Government mine, I would as soon give it gratis as keep it, and I must say thy strange attachment to it is to me most unaccountable. The rest of the soil, also, will never be worth much to thee or any of thine, and yet it will appear of value to those there that consider only the extent of ground. I know thy reason will tell thee that if such terms can be obtained, (as I wish they may at a time so dreadfully expensive to the public,) they ought readily to be embraced. This will set thee clear and free, and above all thy enemies much higher than the slender honour of so precarious a command, that every turbulent spirit keeps us continually in uneasiness; but I am at the same time sensible the thought of the Government has made a deep impression, to which thyself and family, I fear, if speedy measures be not taken, will fall a sacrifice; which, should thou be so unhappy, would lay thy honour much lower than the whole, had it ever been a Principality, could ever have raised thee to in height. Should ever such creatures as Philip Ford have a power to insult thee thus; or should W. Mead and Tho. Lower (should they get him in Lower's family) have such a power over thy affairs, and thy quiet and ease, and all for a thing little better than an opinion? When, at the same time, those here who will wriggle themselves into the first places in Assemblies and the Corporation, the best part at present of the Government, (as the worst side is still the most industrious,) act in despite of thee, and seek to be disunited from thee; tho' like the honester country, 'tis true, sighs and bleeds for it. And wilt thou stand thyself to thy ruin, while scarce any that can assist thee will be at the pains to stand by thee. I write this the better to awaken thy thoughts, to which I must add that I fear unless thou strike speedily, such factions will be raised against thee here, as will utterly disable thee by sending such representations to the Lords of Trade concerning thy

property as will much retard if not frustrate thy Treaty of which I am already jealous, and request thee to be inquisitive with the Secretary about what comes hence or York relating to thee. They charge that the place having stood thee in £20,000 or £25,000 above what thou got by it, as on the one hand I could be glad thou hadst no cause to assert it, so on the other I wish, if an account should ever be required, it may be made to fully appear; for indeed, when I am attacked on that head, as lately I was, can say little to it. I remember one article in thy account drawn up against the Province was £500 for another, for maintaining a Governour; but had any but Blackwell a farthing from thence? What they had here, if they had so much, cannot so properly be charged. If I have a mill given me that earns £100 per annum, and for five years I lay out on her £120 every year, I can truly say I am £100 out of pocket upon her, viz., £20 per annum more than I receive; but not that I am £600, tho' so much be really laid out on her in the time, for the other £500 she herself paid. I beg that this be taken in good part. I hint that it may be considered in accounts that may come to be examined. 'Tis true thou may think thyself not subject to their examination, but we must come to the terms of those that we must of necessity deal with, and I much fear some malicious paper of this kind will be conveyed by some of that spiteful party who seem to breathe thy overthrow. Yet some of them pretend to a greater generosity. I have now, I think, full considered that article of thy debts, and what dependence thou may have on this place to discharge them, which leads me to conclude my opinion, that 'tis by all means advisable to surrender at least the Government and what I have mentioned before, for a valuable consideration, if to be obtained, for that should be the chief inducement, otherwise it might as well be kept. But 'tis money thou wants, and delays, I fear, may be dangerous; however, I have given my sentiments, and shall leave the application of them to thy own better judgment.

The next thing I shall consider is thy property, and what provision thou may reasonably propose to make from thence for thy increasing family. Hadst thou no younger children to provide for, I should by all means advise to keep the whole, so

much only excepted as might suffice to discharge thy debts. But the estate in Ireland being already settled, and most of that in England coming by thy former wife, I suppose there will be little of that will fall to the share of the others, and therefore their chief dependence will be on their grandfather and this Province. (Pardon my being so particular, for I take it to be of absolute necessity to the matter in hand.) I have been told by thy son that not only Pennsbury is settled upon him, but Springetsbury, the quit-rents of Province, 5,000 acres in Rockland, which is not to be had, and, as I remember, some in Highlands, given him in security upon his mortgaging part of that in Ireland for some money lately taken up. If Springfield also belonged to his mother, thou may easily consider what there is left besides of value for the rest. Of that taken up, the London Company must have 5,000 more in Highlands, and 5,000 in Gilberts's, which contains but about 12,000 more, and then there is nothing but the territories, on all which, except the 12 miles round New Castle, thou knows how heavy an incumbrance lies; besides that, those parts seem under a continual disadvantage, that I see but a very slender prospect of their being cleared from it, for that country, I believe, at this minute is under no better circumstances than they were 20 years ago, and the Marylander's claim is so troublesome, that, unless that matter be well settled in thy lifetime, and the claim of the Crown taken off, the value of the whole will be but small, for their quit-rents being in wheat, payable by the old grants upon their plantations, their value by that means is exceeding lessened. In the Province there is already laid out 12,000 acres to father-in-law and son John, at Mahanatawney, and 10,000 more above in Bucks, which, perhaps, by that time he comes of age, may be worth £20 per hundred, or £3,000 sterling here; and let us grant that there may be the same provision made by some means or other for each of the rest, which in tracts notwithstanding would be found very difficult, the surveys almost all along extending already to those vast barrens[1] that divide between the two rivers of Delaware and Susquehanna. This £3,000 to each would not be so valuable 16 or 20 years hence as £1,500 sterling, settled and put out

[1] ["*Those vast barrens*" contained that immense mineral wealth which has since been partially developed. — EDITOR.]

for their use now, to improve upon interest; besides that, a young man in England had better lose near 1-3 of his estate than so much time from business in his youth as to come over hither to raise the money and take it in as he can get it. 'Tis true, a very good management of thy affairs; tho' after thou art gone, 'tis hard to imagine who will be got to undertake it in the behalf of orphans, if it should so happen. There might every year be some more money raised than what the quit-rents yield, by some new sales, which, notwithstanding, would not last very long, but this would be found to turn to a very small account, — those uncertain dribblets coming generally to very little when there is no certain dependence to be placed upon them; but in making an estimate of these things, 'tis to be considered that all these new Settlements, much unlike such an improved country as England, depend very much upon the water, and that we here have no more than one side of a river navigable upon the Province not much above 50 miles; so that our Settlement seems to be stinted, while Maryland has not only both sides of a large bay, with a much richer soil, tho' unhappier in its inhabitants, and many navigable rivers and creeks opening on both sides, the western especially, and yet the revenue of that whole Province, excluding the duty on tobacco, is not worth £700 sterling per annum to its proprietor. We have a great advantage over them, 'tis true, in our people, but theirs is much greater upon us on another hand. From what I have said, it will appear very plain, I believe, that if for the whole soil thou wouldst procure 25 or £3,000 over and above what has been reckoned for the Government, to pay debts, and out of this settle forthwith 3 or £4,000 on each of thy children, it would be treble the advantage to them of anything thou canst reasonably expect to raise for them here, and would carry this further advantage with it, that they would be exempted from the trouble and danger of looking after their uncertain affairs at such a distance, and losing those years about it that are most useful for settling in the world, a young man that is forced to lose the first three or four years after 21, may find inconveniences in it that twice the number afterwards may not wholly retrieve, especially if business and action is to be their sphere; besides that, America has generally been found but an indifferent school for youths, and the change of the climate,

with young people who are expected to make a figure, very frequently begetting an unactive or unsteady disposition. But I have been full enough on this head, in which thou wilt find I nearly agree with what I wrote last year by thy son, notwithstanding I kept no copy of that letter, — being private and wrote in haste. Yet, after all, I must say that, if thou canst find means, with T. Callowhill's assistance, to settle but £2,000 on each of thy children, I would still be for keeping the property, at least the present improved part of it, *in re memoriam*, but all should go rather than leave debts unpaid, and everything be parted with rather than the children be wholly unprovided for. I believe I formerly gave one reason more upon this head, relating to the regard that might be expected to the youngest from others; but I shall now touch no more here, but leave the whole to thy own deliberate consideration, and the circumstances of the times, which, I fear, will not be favourable enough to leave the determination wholly in thy own election. I shall now leave these heads, and take notice of further business.

In my letters about Philip Ford, of which enclosed is the 4th duplicate, I have mentioned my intention to come over speedily, especially if the powers he promised to send should arrive; but these not being come in the ship with Jno. Guy, I have some hopes they are not sent at all, tho' some of the passengers say they were put on board the man-o'-war who is some time since arrived in Virginia; but I have this week seen a letter by that vessel from Philip to N. Puckle, his attorney, charging him to insist with the Commissioners for that land alone, laid out to him, by fraud, in Gilbert's, and that, if they continue to refuse it, he will in time find a way to make himself easy, which gives us some reason to believe he has sent no others. The locating his father's land there was doubtless a great abuse to thee, yet it was a great one also to him, for he duly paid his money, and thought he was secure of his land 18 years ago, otherwise he might then have taken it up advantageously in another place. I would therefore request thee to compose the whole matter with him, and all other differences. A. Paxton tells us it arose upon a quarrel commenced between Letitia and his sisters about W. Masters. I have never hitherto meddled with that business, and

wish nobody else would, but as I have been freely giving my opinion hitherto in this letter, so I would crave leave to add this, and advise that all thy family would be content to let that matter wholly drop, if others will upon any terms do the same.

As to my coming over, I am making all the dispatch I possibly can to get all things in readiness, but shall not be able to finish, I doubt, before the return of this Virginia fleet; nor perhaps shall I come over even then, only send if nothing more arrive from Philip Ford, unless we have some better accounts of affairs in England; for of late the furies themselves seem to have obtained the dominion. Oh, could our people once be able to judge between the halcyon serenity of this solitude, for so it might be, and those tempestuous agitations that restlessly toss the mass of mankind there! We have now, 'tis true, neither money nor credit, as they tell us, yet we live quiet and easy, and want nothing but minds to make us happy. Our trade is very mean, through the prohibition of our goods in Maryland, and their turning bankrupt almost besides. Wheat is at 3*s.*, and for tobacco, no market at all. But there is one thing more I should have taken notice of before, which is the prospect of a trade in this place should we have peace. We have hitherto had no other means for our returns but wheat and its product, and sometimes a little tobacco. Last war, when we had a free trade with Spain, and provision was at the same time high in England, this place and York enriched themselves much by supplying all the English islands, and selling the Spaniards besides. But while corn is under 5*s.* in England, they will always be able to undersell considerably: first, because of the cheapness of labour there to manufacture it into bread, &c.; and next, through the great ease of freight, for that to the Islands cost the merchants in a manner nothing, the returns being the design of their voyage, as the exportations, on the contrary, are of ours; yet, had we a full open trade with the Spaniards during the war, when trade is most hazardous, it would much raise the prices and make our business tolerable; but now, tho' the Queen has given her subjects leave to trade with them, yet their governours think not fit to give them the same, which makes all managed on their side by a kind of stealth, and our men are obliged to sail their

vessels almost as strong as privateers themselves. This makes the voyages so chargeable, that a freight of bread and flour will by no means defray it. They must carry much more valuable goods; for the whole price of a loading of the other, could they have it at home for nothing, would not defray the charge of carrying and disposing of it, which makes us hitherto scarce feel the effects of that liberty granted us; yet still, if we might have the same freedom as before, and more people could be brought in to lower the prices of labour, which is so high that a reaper has very nigh a bushel of wheat for his day's work, the country might rub on comfortably enough, but never get estates as in other colonies, and lands would still rise; for the reason 'tis so cheap here, in comparison of England, is not that 'tis worth no more, but because of the plenty; yet, as ours is thick settled, no great outlet but what's far from water, nor rich of itself, and no more manure to be had but by penning of cattle, and generally soon wore out, as the soil is mostly light and thin. I have no great opinion that were the country[1] .... will be very considerable, or to be depended on. The lower counties hereafter will doubtless be the most valuable, but thou hast little loss there; but in the forest, the Bayard Creeks being all taken up before it was granted thee, and in the first six years afterwards the rest was very much gleaned. We have not granted since thy departure 1,000 acres, in the whole, in both the lower counties together. In New Castle County, indeed, has been the chief of our sales, yet great part of it unpaid for. Yet whatever I say of these counties, 'tis not to be expected in thine or scarce in thy next heirs' time.

The late Act of Parliament for encouraging the raising of Naval Stores in America will much befriend Carolina, the most hopeful colony, were it rightly peopled, in America, in their pitch, tar, turpentine, and rosin, and hemp; and also, I suppose, in time, New England, &c., not only in all these but masts; but it will very little affect us till poverty necessitates us to change our measures, and think at least of hemp and flax. That tract Philip Ford told thee of, environed with rocks, will

[1] [Some word or words have been omitted in the original. — EDITOR.]

be very fit for such uses, perhaps, and pasturage; and in time, when seated, afford an excellent and easy supply of cattle to the market, not being above 35 miles from Philadelphia. There is 16,000 acres land out there for thy use; but those who have land to take up being now generally edged upon the barrens, are so clamorous that they will have it there or nowhere, so that I fear we cannot lay out much more than that quantity.

I have thought, sometimes, thy order to me to lay out the counties as far as Susquehanna,[1] might arise from such a design as I've mentioned, viz., parting with all but these counties, unless it were with an intention to prevent the increase of elections; but that part of thy order where thou requests Bucks County to be laid out five times the breadth of the others, is somewhat strange, if upon the first design, for the length of the whole Province being but 3 degrees or 180 miles, the other counties are 20 each, which by 5 makes 100, added to the other 40, gives 140, and so comes within 40 miles of the northern bounds. I say if this be ordered upon the first-mentioned design, there is nothing that we can now do will so easily determine the matter. If thou art upon treaty, 'tis too late to take those measures; besides that, to make Bucks County 100 miles square as by the falling of Susquehanna to the westward it would be at that height, will appear a strange contrivance. The only secure way in this case will be, to article positively, and make everything determined, for there is no method like a positive, fixed bargain, and what is once so must always be stood to.

This leads me to mention the London Company and their claims. They have been exceedingly importunate with Samuel Carpenter and Philip Ford, to get their whole business finished exactly to their agreement. I have several times formerly mentioned their lands, in the manner putting thee in mind to get them upon some consideration or other to release them, and in one of thy letters thou wast accordingly pleased to tell me that they had agreed to it, which agreement, I suppose, was only verbally, and but by some of them; and I then told thee that unless thou wouldst get a release under hand and seal, no expressions would hereafter release thee, or thy successors, from

[1] [See *ante*, page 15. —EDITOR.]

the obligation thy own had laid thee under. But I must now say I am of opinion nothing will do; but as they have legal deeds for what they claim, they will have every title of their bargain, tho' in Rocklands. I doubt 'tis impossible, and fear to make good the front on the river. Stockdaley House must go with the rest, excepting that I am mostly in pain about 500 acres sold to them in each township already laid out. This will sweep away most of the land called "Concealed," of which there is but very little, and it will be impossible to satisfy them to the full. Such contrasts as these seem to me very puzzling. I have mentioned it fully again, and so must leave it.

I write by this opportunity to Jos. Pike about his land, and to D. Wharley about that sold to E. Beeston, a soft man, who cannot be at the pains to look after his business. I must also mention another contentious business, raised by Wm. Biles in behalf of Tho. Hudson of Cheshire, purchaser of 600 acres. William, about 12 months ago, applied to us for lots proportionable to that purchase, and showed us at the same time a warrant under thy hand in England for laying out to him, because he was not within the first hundred, the lots of Isaac Gellius, purchaser of 5,000 acres, and Wm. or Jno. Cole, purchaser of 1,000, both laid out on Schuylkill. Cole having come over to Maryland and died there, a relation in his behalf, who claimed as heir, came up in a few weeks after Wm. Biles's application for that 1,000 acres and appurtenances. We told him we supposed that Cole himself had transferred his right to Hudson, because of thy warrant ordering his lot to be laid out to said Hudson, and thereupon sent him to Biles, who, being taken tardy in some expressions, began to be very much enraged about it, proving afterwards that by thy warrants thou hadst granted Hudson another man's right, Cole's especially. We told William that T. Hudson, being none of the first purchasers, he had no right to any city lots more than what thou wast pleased afterwards to grant him; that, seeing thou hadst done it, we should grant him an equivalent to those lots which were 125 feet on Schuylkill front, which then seemed fully to satisfy him, as well it might; but the Governour having sued him, as I have mentioned in a former letter, he comes down hastily next morning after he was

served with the summons, in company with his friend E. Shippen, to demand justice of me for T. Hudson. Edw., who knows as much of the matter as he did 7 years ago, had told him, it seems, that, having a right to 6,000 acres of land, he ought to have 12 lots, for we allowed, he thought, a lot to every 500, and these 12 lots William came to demand. I was much troubled at Edward's partial ignorance, but told him over again what had been offered before, with which he had acquiesced. I corrected Edward's mistake before William, and he threatened some mighty matters that he would send home, and that those should be called to account. I further told him that I would draw up a state of the case, which should be signed by the Commissioners, and this he might give as our genuine answer . . . . . .

If T. Hudson write about this, a full answer may be drawn out of the foregoing, which, if verbatim, leaving out only E. S., might not, perhaps, be improper; but upon this, I would crave to be excused, if my style or language appear sometimes too indigested, 'tis what I cannot always avoid, for what I send thee is almost always my first draught, and to correct that much, as I always see there is occasion, would render it too indecent and ungrateful to the eye. This once for all.

Thou wast pleased in thy last to tell me that, together with G. Jones's letters, thou hast sent that signed by David Lloyd. The first came, but the other not, which proved no small disappointment. Griffith owns every word of his, but says that he could not have expected that what he wrote wholly to thyself, directed to thy own hands, thou would have exposed so. We have had very warm words upon it, for I charged him with some downright impudent lies, in these very words, to his face, and called on him to prove them, or I would expose them. He still says they are all true, but seems very unwilling to quarrel and much troubled. He has been, 'tis certain, the best Magistrate Philadelphia ever had in my time, of any kind, and fully made good all his promises to thee at thy departure in paying, at least accounting for, (which is equivalent,) all his quit-rents, tax, &c., most punctually, and he has further been very easy in most unheard-of abuse put upon him by Surveyors in laying out no less than 3,000 acres of his purchased land, on tracts surveyed and

patented before, 1-3 to himself, 1-3 to Ben. Furley, and the other 1-3 to J. Claypoole, which he was forced to quit after thy departure, when for 16 years at least he had accounted it his own, knowing nothing of the prior surveys, and took it up in the Great Swamp, better land, 'tis true, but at as much greater distance, and much less valuable, for the other bounded on the North Wales Settlement. I write not this through any change of opinion, but to shew the strange mixture of the men, for I have been ever since the sending of that letter, in which he was a little concerned, at defiance with him.

But 'tis time now to draw to an end, and make this the last sheet. . . . . And while my hand is in the class of things of moment that seem wholly disregarded, let me once more mention the division of the boundaries of Maryland, a thing of so great importance to thee that, could it be well done, and the title for the lower counties made good, it might turn to as good account as the greatest part of all the Province besides.[1] I can find very little overplus of value in great tracts to lay those new purchases of T. Cole's upon, but up about the head of Neshamineh, where they are all now to be laid, the lower parts of the County of Philadelphia scarce afford any at all; but the new draught of the country now preparing, with the accounts of them annexed, will best explain that. Mary Phillips, the Irish gentlewoman, is very uneasy about her allowance, and complains that £60 this money will by no means do. She pays for herself and maid, besides washing clothes, her maid's wages, and all other expenses, £50 only for board, which she begs me to acquaint thee with, and procure a better provision for her. The poor woman is very disconsolate, and certainly has great reasons. The 18th inst., (7th-day last was a week,) Jno. Parsons went very well to bed, in appearance, and in a very few minutes was struck dead with a rising in his throat. Next day I was at his burying, within 20 hours after I saw him walk the streets in good health. . . . . .

[1] [The remainder of this letter is wanting. — EDITOR.]

James Logan to Hester Cary.

Philadelphia, *26th August*, 1705.

Esther Cary — Respected Friend: — I received thine by Captain Steven's wife, dated the 2d of December last, and in answer to it must inform thee, that applying to Patrick Robinson after my arrival, he gave me an account in short, &c., that of those small debts due to thy former husband he never could receive one farthing, but that here the lot lay untouched and unimproved. The lot lies on the south side of Walnut Street and the west side of the 3d street from Delaware, being a corner lot on both streets; 'tis in breadth on Walnut Street 49 1-2 foot, and in length on 3d street, 220 foot. There is 21 years' rent due upon it, at 2 shillings sterling per annum, or 3 shillings of our money, which is £3 3*s.* in the whole. The value of it is from 15 to £20 of our money, which is worse by 1-3 than sterling, but will yield according as a chapman offers. I am of opinion if thou wouldst constitute an attorney with full and ample powers to make a title, it may in a little time be disposed of. The lot would be worth more, but that, besides its being in a street somewhat out of the way, the street leading to it from the principal part of the town is very uneven, and few but the poorer sort dwell in it. I have given thee a very particular account; and I hope shall not be found to deserve the reproaches thou passes upon me. I must further put thee in mind that unless thou takes some measures to dispose of it, the country itself will take some care of it for thee; for they will not suffer a lot among other improvements to lye as an open gap unimproved, but make provision that it shall come into other hands that will use it, for all these lots were originally granted the purchasers only to build on for their settlements and conveniences. If I can serve thee in anything, I shall be very ready, who am

Thy assured loving friend, J. L.

To Hester Cary, in St. Katherine's,
near the Tower, London.
Per Captain Basset.

JAMES LOGAN TO DANIEL WHARLEY.

PHILADELPHIA, *26th 6th-mo.*, 1705.

ESTEEMED FRIEND: — In December last, I received a letter from our Proprietor, by Ed. Beeston, directing the Commissioners of Propriety to favour said Edward as much as we could in granting or confirming to him 1,250 acres of land he had purchased of thee and thy wife. Immediately upon this application, I caused the Surveyor's office to be searched, but could find no manner of footsteps of any survey for thy wife or brothers, a late one for Edward excepted, upon which I told him he must stay a little till the resurveys were brought in, which would be very speedily, and then we should perfectly discover what quantity there is of that land, where your names are fixed in the map, and so might proceed to a confirmation; but Edward, not meeting with all he desired at once, slipt away without any notice, and never came nigh us again, till lately I sent for him on purpose. Of that tract in Bucks County, I find thy brother Edward, after he came over, thinking he needed the most of any of the family, with the Governour's consent took up to his own use 625 acres, and I think sold it in his lifetime; if not, being confirmed by patent, it remains to his son. The whole tract was reputed to contain only 1,250 acres, and Edward, I remember, was of opinion that his brother William ought to have the other moiety, for much such other reason as himself took the first. That other share, however, proves now on the resurvey to contain 1,410 acres, by which it appears the first quantity was 2,000 acres, and remains to be divided among those to whom it properly belongs, which may be, I suppose, thyself and John. Your names are down again in the Welsh Tract, on the west of Schuylkill, but this was a mean sham of Th. Holmes, who, when getting the maps engraved in London, put down several people's names that he was willing to oblige there, without any manner of survey, either precedent or subsequent to that nomination, but suffered others afterwards to take it up, as all the land there is patented long ago. Thy brother Edward was sensible of this, and soon discovering the abuse, not only of you but several others, to our no small trouble he never insisted on

it, though careful enough on that head. He also took up 100 acres of Liberty Land, near Philadelphia, being the proportion of the whole 5,000 acres granted your family, but what is done with it I certainly cannot tell. This 2,100 acres is all that ever was taken up in right of that purchase, of which, as I said, 1,400 lie free in Bucks Co., ready to be confirmed to the claimers. But E. Betton finding, I perceive, that the whole is not located so advantageously as he expected, and that goods bought there yield a very great advance here, in hopes of making a better hand of his money, is for declining the bargain. As for our part, we can do no more. We are ready to confirm what is already laid out, but, I suppose, William, if living, should have a share of what we shall not readily grant warrants for, which I hope will be acknowledged, as it really is all that we can possibly do, and that thou wilt be pleased to accept of this information in good part; communicating the same to thy brother John also, who, I understand, has sold his share on terms much alike together. With my hearty respects, from

Thy assured and loving friend, J. L.

Isaac Norris to Philip Ford.

29th 6th-mo., 1705.

Thy letters, via Barbadoes, to David Lloyd, J. M., and myself, came to hand some time since, but the rest, which Paxton says is aboard in man-o'-war, is not yet come. The thing makes a great noise here, and the Proprietor's back friends improve it very much to their advantage and disturbance of the country.

I hope, notwithstanding, what thou writest of entering upon the country, thou meanest no others or more than to secure yourselves the debt, principal and interest, which I think very reasonable, and hope the Proprietor will find out some measures speedily to do it.

I write to thee as a friend, as well as being incited thereto by my respect to the Proprietor, requesting thee to pursue it with as much temper and respect to him, as well as regard to the

quiet of the whole country, as the thing will bear, remembering that thy father was his friend from the beginning, and he is.

I hope the Proprietor was acquainted with it, tho' from nothing that is come from him it yet appears so, and that there will be a speedy accommodation, or at least a suspension, as long as the security is good, till it can be fairly ended. . . . . .

William Penn to James Logan.

London, *7th 7br.*, 1705.

I send thee a good character of the bearer as a civil and sensible young man, well educated as well as well descended, and so recommended from his relations and my friends in Holland. If his writing and skill in accounts will qualify him for thy business, pray take him in; if not, countenance and recommend him elsewhere.

Thine and the Governour's of the 3d-mo. and 4th, came safe to hand last 7th-day. Go on in the same way, for the Lords of Trade seem to countenance your proceedings, and blame the Assembly. I hope this next to be chosen will do better things. The surrender will not be before that time, if at all. We are all, thro' mercy, pretty well; and salute thee and our true friends. Farewell. Thy true friend, Wm. Penn.

Direct to John Tucker, Esq., at Sir Charles Hedge's office, for me. I take the Assembly's answer about his (D. L.'s) forgery to be base and villanous. Mark them, pray. There is a poor fellow that would rent the land I have in the township of Salem, which I know to be good choice land. I told him I would refer it to thee and William Hall on the spot, lest I wrong myself. If it can be reasonably done, be kind in that or otherwise, and for T. S.'s request to me from Friends with you, for land in or near the centre. Gratify good friends, but none of the Leaven, and what or where it is, and in what proportions? tell me. I would have within bounds and rather to the line by Skulkill, on the south bounds, or the north than in the middle of it. Let

it be the Gift of William Penn to his dear Friend and Elder, George Fox, and George Fox's Gift to truth's and Friends' service.

About 57 laws or 60 I daily expect to pass, and if I can will send them by this fleet; else next, about 6 weeks hence. I send the Lords' objections and my answers. I hope the laws not passed will stand till amended by you there and returned, which must be by the next Assembly. I left Beaumont's release with the lease, but the drift is, where is the 300 acres on Rancocus Creek. What says William Biddle to it, — none *there* being to be had, — and about taking the Island, if he will not make amends. 300 acres of new land above the Falls are not par to the price and interest of the money. Also what appears as to money paid. Pray send an attested copy per next of that affair. Vale.

James Logan to Johannah Markham.

Philadelphia, 13*th* 7*th-mo.*, 1705.

Esteemed Friend: — Meeting with some trouble immediately after the receipt of thine, I was put by the thoughts of answering it for some time, but now at length I find it incumbent on me, and beg thy excuse for the delay. I know not how to appoint any person to overhaul these papers and accounts in my behalf. None but myself will be proper to do it, and I cannot find it will be worth my while to make a journey thither and lose so much time as it will require there for that purpose only. I must, therefore, again move, that some fit persons may be intrusted with them all here, and that all manner of accounts of quit-rents received may be sent with them. To send my objections in particular would be a fruitless labor, for I object against the whole, and am very well assured that how well soever the person that drew them up understands accounts in general, he had no manner of notion of these in particular. Thou art pleased in thy letter to say that Col. Markham used to express himself as if the Proprietor was considerably in his debt for receiving the quit-rents, etc. 'Tis very strange, then, that money should be

due for receiving, and yet no manner of accounts be exhibited of any that he ever received, as I noted in my former. What is due from the Governour for those things he received will be paid to thy order. But the small arms the young gentleman borrowed gives me no small trouble, for I can neither find, nor hear anything about them. I wish thou hadst settled the matter with himself before he went away. I have some thoughts next spring of going for England; if before that time, or then, I can serve thee, thou mayst command me in anything in my power, and that I can answer, being in sincerity

Thy real loving friend, J. L.

To Johannah Markham.

William Penn to James Logan, "Secretary of Pennsylvania."

London, 14*th* 7*th-mo.*, 1705.

Since my last to thee, which was by the last ships that went hence, I have received thine of the 11th 12th-mo., and one of the 5th 2d-mo., and thine of the 17th 3d-mo. The two last came, the one the last week, and the other the week before, both directed to the Secretary's office. I think there was another short letter of December last, else no more, duplicates excepted, since the 22d November, 1704.

Thy letter of the 11th 12th-mo. contains four points:

1. *Government.* — The late quiet state of Government amongst you, could I promise myself the continuance thereof, I should be induced never to part with it. The surrender is not yet effected, nor do I know when it will.

2. *D. L.* — David Lloyd's villanous letter fell only into my hands, saving that Edward Singleton's[1] being present with Guy,

[1] Robert Barber, who was the bearer of David Lloyd's letter and remonstrance, sailed with Capt. Guy. They were taken on their passage and carried into France, where a friend of the Proprietor, Ed. Singleton, happening to be a fellow-prisoner, meeting with the papers after they had been opened by the enemy, carefully picked them up, and got leave to carry them with him to England, so that all the letters David Lloyd had wrote, relating to this affair, were delivered into the Proprietor's own hands. — L.

opened and read them, and communicated them to half a dozen of my friends in this town before I saw them. Remember that he be prosecuted according to my last, if any room for it, unless he ask forgiveness, and do me and the country right.

3. *Laws.* — As for the laws, I have made hundreds of visits before I could bring them as far as they have now come. I doubt not but they will be ready, so far as they are allowed of them, about a fortnight hence, and perhaps sent by the present conveniency.

4. *Lines.* — Now for the last, about running the line. I offered it, when I was last in Maryland, to Colonel Darnet, chief agent for the Lord Baltimore, which he refused, as having no orders from his Lord, though the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations have often required it from us both. I believe he had no mind it should be done whilst I was there, which is a reason why I should be there before it is done, and if you think so too that are on the spot, suspend it awhile; otherwise proceed. But it is worth considering whether the reputed fortieth degree of latitude hath the date of his patent, ought not to bound him, for he was to begin at thirty-eight and run to forty, and if that province was to be measured from its south point or beginning two degrees northerly, the north bound would not come to Spes Utia alias Colonel Uty's Island. It was generally computed by all seamen of former times, who were artists, used to say that the north side of Pool's Island would make up his two degrees, and that is many leagues short of Uty's. I think to move it to the Lords Commissioners with these precautions, and hope to send your orders by the next Virginia fleet, which speak of going about six weeks hence. But remember one thing, if they should object in Maryland, that notwithstanding the first patent went from thirty-eight to forty, yet the second went from a certain point of land to the fortieth degree, that there is no other difference or meaning, without a collusion upon the crown which vacates the grant, than that the thirty-eighth degree mentioned in the first grant is ascertained locally by the second, and that, I am assured, encroached upon Virginia 20 miles, which has above ten years ago been detected before the Council by the Virginians; which, though it may not directly help us, will so

much more affect him, Lord Baltimore, than his insisting upon having the rigour of the 40th degree can prejudice us, that perhaps he may be prevailed to make us easy. He has by little bribes got the new maps altered, but the old maps, at and before my grant, ran at least thirty miles below the head of the bay.

The other letter is of the 5th 2d-mo. last. I am sorry for your losses by privateers, which is our case here, the consequences of our ruinous War. Thy 2d paragraph touches upon my sense of the division of the Province and Counties. I think it so scandalous by its affront to the Queen, who graciously united, by the approbation of the Governour, what the worst of our enemies had always sought to separate, and ungrateful to me that made them that grant only in case the Government should be violently taken away from me, never designing to rend the territories from the Province. This cutting the child in two may one day fall heavy on the authors of it. I made the best of it with the Lords Commissioners, laying much of it at their door, by giving encouragement to factions and unworthy spirits, to my unspeakable trouble and loss, and will give occasion to *Quo Warranto* it, perhaps in my time, but to be sure when it is in that of the Crown.

My son's arrival and account has not much excited my care or love towards so rude and base a people, tho' I have shewn to him as little of it as I could.

My exigencies, indeed, are very pressing, but I had rather be poor with a loving people, than rich with an ungrateful one. I lament the loss of honest Richard Hough. Such men must needs be wanted where selfishness and forgetfulness of God's mercies so much abound. You will have honest John Salkeld[1] in his room by this opportunity, to whom shew the tenderest regards upon all occasions, for he and his wife fear God. He

[1] He settled on a plantation very near to Chester, now possessed by the heirs of James Withy. He was a minister much esteemed in the Society of Friends, a man of good abilities, and of a most facetious and ready wit, which has caused many of his repartees to be still remembered. One of his daughters died a few years ago at the great age of 97; another reached 91. — L. [This note was written by Mrs. Logan in 1818. — Editor.]

thinks to settle near to Caleb Pusey's, to whom my dear love, with all other faithful Friends.

For thy 4th paragraph, depend upon it neither thou nor the Governour will be forgotten by me, when, or whatever I dispose of in America. Here are few customers for so copious a business, and at such a distance! I have long since let thee know the success of the Babadoes efforts, and that Samuel Vaus has not writ to thee is besides his promise and acknowledgments.

I shall not forget thy hints about that poor and unsuccessful business at Jamaica.[1]

For the Lands in West Jersey, I wish those Commissioners take care to answer for the authority they exercise in ordering other men's lands without any from them. Here is a rich body of great proprietors that mutiny against them, and threaten their proceedings with Westminster Hall. For Daniel Wait's property, thou hast found it in my escritoire, where I left it and other things of moment; and for William Haige's, his son in those parts knows. I had his father's propriety for money he owed me, and asked but 10 or £20 when here to release all claim and pretentions thereto, so that rather than fail, let them take it up in his name, if they will not believe his concession upon my claim; for I cannot presently recover the assignment, tho' I have his original deed by me. Nor do I desire any land I have bought of the Indians in West Jersey should hinder justice to others, but I desire it may not be twice paid for, and that I have my full proportion among other proprietors. But by no means will I accept of 300 acres there; for the 300 I bought of Richard Banam, alias Beaumont, that he purchased of Wm. Biddle, on Rancocos Creek, the difference being cent. per cent. Thou hast found his lease; pray search for the release, they must needs have been together. Search for all papers relating to that business, and let me know pr. first if any papers or package says that I paid but 10 or £15 out of the 25 mentioned as the value of the land till I should be possessed of it, for I remember nothing of it, as the widow alleges. I am sorry to find I can have

[1] Fishing for a wreck. There were great preparations for it; a company was formed, and a vessel and crew were sent out from England to undertake it, with but little success. —L.

no justice in my own Courts; if so, I must bring the first appeal to Westminster Hall against my own Courts, for want of justice to their Proprietor and Governour. Perhaps that law may meet with a repulse here, and that next Assembly may do better, which will cure the present malady.

For the Wool Act here in England,[1] I will lay the mischief of it to America before the Council of Trade, and use my utmost endeavours to have it amended this next Parliament, tho' they are very jealous here of encouraging manufactories there, and therefore demur to the law about tanning of leather. Keep fair with Quarry, unless he is the aggressor, but never at the cost of me or the Government, remembering that David Lloyd has been my mortal enemy, about obeying those orders which he so officiously obtained against him, having laid David Lloyd aside thereupon near a year before any difference appeared between Quarry and me. I cannot blame thy conduct towards him in his affair about our poor Lumbey, tho' I am truly sorry J. Lumbey must be loser. I am glad of the hints thou gave me about the Lords of Trade's letter to Quarry. Thou shalt see that I will make effectual use of it very shortly.

I gave Andrew Rudman 500 acres, but he was to pay for the other, if I remember right, and I am pretty confident of it; but if you think he may deserve it in any services to the Government and me, I leave it to you to do as you think fit.

To thy 7th paragraph I say, send me the proper names for a Privy Council, and I will send a Commission and get settled

[1] The following, I suppose, is only a part of the Regulations made by law in England to Protect their Woollen Manufacture: "The 8th of Eliz., ch. 3, punishes with imprisonment and the loss of the left hand, the sending of live sheep out of the kingdom, or the embarkation of them on board of any ship; and this, too, without any exceptions of the necessary provisions for the ship's crew. The second offence is made only a clergeable felony." Sir Edward Coke thinks that the benefit of the clergy might be pleaded, as well in case of cutting off the hand as in case of felony; if so, and if the offender were fortunate enough to have learnt to read, he could never have suffered under this Act.

The tacit disapprobation of mankind consigns such laws to disregard and oblivion; but they should be repealed, to prevent any possibility of oppression on the one hand, and to forbid all intentions of evasion on the other. — L.

but £100 a year of your money for an Attorney-General, and £200 a year for a Chief Justice, and £400 a year for your Governour, and I will get you two lawyers for those places to all your contents, and that will content, I believe, your present Governour, than whom you can hardly find a better. I am sorry Parmyter could not be made useful to us. I will consider of a dormant commission in case of the Governour's decease, but whom I desire may live at least to his father's age. Make it thy business to soften and sweeten such as are any way soured, by thyself, or such persons and medicines as are likely to influence them.

And beseech the worthiest of my friends, as Samuel Carpenter, Griffith Owen, of whom I am glad thou hast changed thy opinion, Rd. Hill, Is. Norris, Ed. Shippen, Thomas Story, for all thee, and who else thou canst think of to use the like influence. Let John Blunston of Darby have my old love, and that I am the same that ever I was towards him, and hope the same from him.

I saw Churchill the other day; he is a member of Parliament, and waits for thy advice. I am glad that John Sotcher has so good a character on all hands. My son speaks highly of him, and I may tell thee, perhaps I may be a Judge of it myself before midsummer's day, which pray keep to thyself, for when I come I will endeavour not to be expected. Our kind love to him and his honest wife, and am glad of their improvement every way. If Pennsbury has cost me one penny, it has cost me above £7,000, and it was with an intention to settle there, tho' God has been pleased to order it otherwise. I should have returned to it in '86, or at furthest in 1689. I observe what thou sayest about a letter to Friends as well as to the Government. Thy notion of the mutual interest of Friends and ——, I agree with, and I wish they did too.

I shall communicate Letitia's affairs about her Manour to her and her husband.

I am sorry the Sasquehanna business is where it was, since it was so much the occasion of that fatal journey of my poor Son's, an unworthy condition after my two costly voyages. If by any means I could pay ten thousand pounds here, without the sale of that Sasquehanna land, I would certainly do it, and

that would make me and mine easy. However, I am glad of thy opinion of the people, that it arises from want and not disaffection that they have not paid.

By this time I hope thou wilt be sensibly better satisfied of the openness of the Spanish trade; also, that Govern'r Nicholson is recalled, and that a worthy gentleman succeeds him, at least equal to any man the Crown has sent into these parts for many years; and for the Barbadoes Governour, he has had notable quickness by complaints against him, tho' he continues.

We agree about John Lask, but there has gone a young man of Amsterdam by this opportunity who has two packets from me to thee. He is sober and capable, and will, I believe, on small terms be serviceable to thee, if thou wantest one. I must insist upon a rent-roll or an estimate at least, tho' upon conjecture, till a more correct one can reach me; for the credit of it, as I have told thee, would command supplies here, and to want both money and credit can never last. Thus much for thy letter of 5th 2d-mo. last.

I now come to thine of the 17th 3d-mo. But mine by my son which thou writest thou would return, is not come to my hand, neither any account of bonds, tho' thou mentions sending them. I am well pleased with the Governour's speech, and as little pleased with the Assembly's answer.

I have not yet surrendered, and unless I can do it upon very valuable terms, I will not; and therefore expect three things:

1*st.* The condemnation of David Lloyd's proceedings, which thou speakest of, and that, whether I surrender or not, since one or t'other shall make no difference as to my coming and inhabiting there, and placing some of my children among them.

2*dly.* That no law be passed nor privilege granted by my Lieutenant-Governour till they have settled a revenue of at least a thousand pounds per an. upon the Government. I too mournfully remember how noble a law I had of exports and imports when I was first in America, that had been worth by this time some thousands a year, which I suspended receiving for a year or two, and that not without a consideration engaged by several merchants. But Thomas Lloyd, very unhappy for me, my family, and himself, complimented some few selfish spirits with

the repeal thereof, without my final consent, which his Commission required, and that has been the source of all my loads and inabilities to support myself under the troubles that have occurred to me on the account of settling and maintaining the Colony. For I have spent upon it £10,000 the first two years, as appears by accounts here in England, which, with £3,000 I overspent myself in King James' time, and the war in Ireland that followed, has been the true cause of all my straits I have since laboured under, and no supply coming from Pennsylvania between my first and second voyage (being 15 years) to alleviate my burdens and answer my necessities, to say nothing of what my Deputy Governours have cost me, from the beginning, even in Fletcher's time, and the vast sum of money I have melted away here in London to hinder much mischief against us, if not to do us much good; which I can solemnly say has not been less, *communibus annis*, than £400 per annum, which comes near to £10,000. Lord Baltimore's 2*s.* pr. hhd., with anchorage, tonnage, and other immunities, is a supply far transcending what I can hope for, tho' he never took the hundredth part of the concern upon him that I have done, and when they gave it to him they were in poorer circumstances than Pennsylvania is now by many degrees, and I am ashamed to tell thee how opprobriously our people's treatment of me has been styled by people of almost all qualitys and stations.

3*dly, and lastly.* I will have that mischievous man, David Lloyd, brought on his knees, as my last letters express it, let his defenders do and say what they will; and therefore I shall write to the Governour that if anything I mentioned in my last (as his executing the Office of the Rolls without a Commission, Recording Deeds that gave away mine and my children's manours, and abusing Minutes and Records) can be proved upon him, he should be prosecuted without delay. Pray let the Governour know it.

To thy 3d paragraph I only say, I wish I could see it, for I am a crucified man between Injustice and Ingratitude there, and Extortion and Oppression here. The Lord uphold my spirit thro' it all!

Thy 4th paragraph refers to returns. Make them in the best

manner thou canst: 1st, Bills; or, if that cannot be, then by way of Barbadoes or Madeira, as thou findest it most advantageous. I am sorry if I mistook thee about giving bonds, for I thought that was the best way to secure interest, and that bonds to me were in the nature of judgments which thou hintest to me. But if there be a safer way, and I think there is, by way of mortgage, pray take it, that so the interest of my credit may keep pace with the interest of my debt.

For the list of bonds and rent-roll, the first have not come, as I wrote before, nor have I by me any duplicate of the Sasquehannah obligation. The rent-roll thou gavest me hopes of a year ago. Those two things under the Commissioners' hands, with two or three merchants known here and of good esteem, as Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, and Isaac Norris, would be some help upon a pinch, for where a credit distinctly appears sufficient, the importunities of debt may easily be quieted.

If thou thinkst it for my advantage that the land stand engaged, let it be so. I approve thy making lands liable to forfeiture on non-payment, but my evil-rewarded tenderness would not let me take that course in early days. I have sent thee over a bill to make bonds current pay, if the Assembly will allow it. I shall take care about the running of the line, and powers are gone from my son Aubrey, in my daughter's business. I am sorry thou shouldst make use of any of hers on my account, under the hazard of circumstances of war with France, since much of it has either gone thither or to the bottom. For the quit-rents, if I raise money upon any of them, 'tis what is done upon engaged land every day.

I shall improve thy hint all I can of William's taking his money there owing to him. I would not have thee trouble thyself about thy reputation here, by reason of the losses I have sustained, since not thy fault. They have asked why the goods were not insured, which I placed to the account of my own tenderness. As for thy coming hither with perfect accompts of all my affairs, I hope to see thee and them there first, if the Lord will. But, oh, what encouragement have I, at this time of day, to make such an enterprise!

As for the matters between thee and Thomas Story, I am not

ignorant of what troubles shall pretenders undergo, hinted at it, as some obstruction to business. I cannot blame what I would never avoid, but to be sure such disorders of mine weaken attention upon other business, and in short has reflected more upon him than thee here, and as thou reports to me, there also. Remember, humility, fear, and love are the triune qualities of a true Christian.

I hope R. S. found mercy above that was snatched so suddenly from hence. Let others beware. I am glad thou hast found Bainam's lease; the release must be there also, or in somebody's hands in West Jersey, to whom I might have given it to be recorded. Pray, mind this business, as I have already writ, for it's vexatious to me. Give Lord Cornbury no occasion, and be sure to improve any he gives with sufficient evidence.

To thy 12th paragraph about the meeting-house and school-lot, I could wish that some people had exercised some more tenderness towards my poor, suffering, and necessitous circumstances than invading lots and lands in *nomine Domini*. They know as well as I [obliterated]. I have to Samuel Carpenter's improvements, for N. N.,[1] were the letters in the platform, to defend it from any encroachments; but all is fish that comes to net, with too many to my grief. However, since I will hope 'tis the better sort of Friends that seek it, I consent as my gift both that the meeting-house and school-house ground be granted and confirmed to the Meeting, and greatly commend the caution that sent for my authority; for though my commissioners have power to be just, they have no power to be bountiful. I take well thy care for my youngest son. For the bills of exchange I sent protested, if they are not come, I hope they will. I shall mention it to Samuel Vaus and my son Aubrey's book-keeper, who was concerned about them. I hope S. V.'s silence is from his vast trade of an hundred thousand per year, rather than any slight towards thee, for when I told him thou complained of not hearing from him, he seemed to blame himself, and promised to write to thee. I know T. has allowed for insurance, but I cannot just now say what. I am sorry for our unsuccessfulness of

[1] Not numbered. — L.

mills, but when one does what one can and ought, acquiescing is best. . . . . .

I never concerned myself about the money, only wishing it were alike everywhere, nor do I think they will suddenly press you upon that thing. But 'tis a great mistake to think my quit-rents dubious, because the rates are changed, since my quit-rents were sterling, and the rest was wheat, and the wheat was always to go at 5*s.* to avoid both extremes; and I hope thou observest it for my advantage, else I have lost many hundreds of pounds when wheat was last war generally at 7*s.* per bushel; but I doubt not thy integrity any more than thy ability, and, depend upon it, if my matters end well, thine shall not end ill, whether in or out of employment. I pretty well know my own interest, though my too kind nature to serve others has neglected it. I hope it shall not be the error of the last part of my life, if the Lord be pleased to add yet some years to my life.

William Penn to James Logan.

(In continuation of foregoing letter.)

21st 7br., 1705.

Pray let them not so much neglect the gardens at Pennsbury as to let them run to ruin through good husbandry, but cut or hoe down the weeds and dry burn them, and that will do good to the ground. Send per next (opport'y) a pipe, or a hhd. at least, of the Madeira wine, of such as I had two pipes together when there. Send also of the best peach stones[1] a gallon, — at least a quart or two.

John Ellis is under some disgrace about an old French pass, so send to John Tucker, Esq., as before hinted, at Sir Charles

[1] I have often heard traditionary accounts of the excellence of this fruit in the early settlement of the State, and can myself remember trees of an age and size which they now never attain. It is much to be wished that the lovers of horticulture could point out a remedy for the disease which attacks them, and which appears likewise to threaten our apple-orchards with destruction. — L.

Hedge's office, Whitehall. Why can't you make way for Parmyter? Won't he do? I fear his temper, but he would ballance J. More, &c. I hope to a regulation, after I have procured the laws, &c. I am assured so by those who have it in their power to effect it.

The Lords have straggled about the country these three or four weeks, so that, the wind being easterly, I fear it will be impossible to get the laws ready, though there is only form wanting to send them, and so tell the people.

I could wish you would watch the motions of your graceless and most dishonourable shirking neighbours at York[1] now, so inform me for first opportunity, in order to which some that live there, not of his gang, could furnish you from time to time.

George Fox's lot is a mystery. Would Friends have it in the Centre? What, then, shall we do with the plan of the city? I will not allow that which time may accomplish to be prevented. Take it on the right side or the left which yet is irregular. I had rather it were out of my strip by the city Springetsbury, that runs upon the city, and wherever it is I'll have a cheap rent or quit-rent, and recorded my gift to George Fox and his to Friends. Fail not to let me know thy thoughts upon it, for T. L. haunts me from Friends here, vizt. the Monthly Meeting. I am sorry I am to be pressed and encroached upon every way, and that they have not more tenderness to my circumstances than to seek an unreasonable thing, and to set such folks to teaze me; converse with the chief of the Meeting, and say if reasonably and then proceed. Remember Markham's bargain of the 2nd Street lot. Would an honest people bribe one they knew lived corruptly and lavishly upon mine to grant away what was none of his own? for, to say true, I reserved it for Tishe under N. N., and she must have one among the rest in High Street, (I writ abruptly by the young Dutchman of this matter,) on either side or out of my manour running by the city, or that which was William Southby's, at Schuylkill. Let us hear no more of it if possible, save that you agree to a reasonable expedient. I enclose David Lloyd's letter in his own hand, of which thou sentst me an abstract. No Council of Trade these four or five weeks, and

[1] Lord Cornbury, I apprehend. — L.

so cannot do as I wisht, but hope by next opportunity now at hand. Wherefore, with real love to thee and all our true friends, in all respects, I close. Thy assured and affectionate friend,

WILLIAM PENN.

I have drawn for £15 your money payable to the order of Eliz. Muscham dated in this mo., 3 bills 1st, 2d, 3d.

JAMES LOGAN TO ———.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, *8br the 6th*, 1705.

ESTEEMED FRIEND: — Tho' I have not had the favour of a personal acquaintance with thee, yet my business in this place, as Agent to our Proprietor, and the subject of his letter, will but too much entitle me to this freedom of writing. The business is this.

One Cornelius Empson, an inhabitant in our County of Newcastle, about three years and a half ago, in behalf of himself and several others, obtained of us, the Commissioners of Property, with great importunity, a warrant to take up eighteen thousand acres of land, in all, upon or near the southern bounds of this Province.[2] We were extremely unwilling to grant it till we could have a full assurance that it would indisputably fall within our own bounds, but he pressed so hard, affirming always that they were all very well satisfied to take it up under us, as certainly belonging to us, that we were at length prevailed on to let them have it, upon the terms of two bushels of wheat per one hundred acres quit-rent, which afterwards, within two years, they might purchase off to one shilling sterling per hundred for £8 of our money. By this warrant the land was duly surveyed,

[1] [It does not appear to whom this letter was addressed. — EDITOR.]

[2] [Logan, in a letter to Empson, of the same date, was still more severe in his animadversions upon the latter. The "boundary question" became a bitter border feud, which was destined to give the Proprietor and his heirs considerable trouble, and which was not completely settled until more than half a century after the date of this letter. — EDITOR.]

and several persons soon after proceeded to make settlements there, being afterwards still more assured of its being indisputably within our bounds by some trials that were made with a compass and needle on a traverse.

What has past privately since, upon this head, I know not, but to-day I have seen a letter under Empson's hand, informing that he and the others had come to new terms, and were to have a title under Maryland, which title I have reason to believe thyself alone can have any pretence to make there, as being not only concerned, I suppose, for your Proprietor, the Lord Baltimore, but a purchaser also under Esquire Talbot, who they say obtained a patent for sixty thousand acres of land about that place.

Since our Proprietor has had this country, we have endeavoured to live as easy, and with as good an understanding upon the account of our neighbourhood. Since the fort at Christina, I have not heard of the least unkindness that passed on either side. Each Province was suffered to take up and seat lands quietly, provided it was not within certain claimed bounds, and this we have very constantly observed. Because that tract lay to the southward of any of our back settlements, though no further south upon trial than the beginning of our Province upon Delaware by the Royal Patent, yet we were very cautious, and till we had pretty good assurances would not proceed, and even then at the great importunity of the persons concerned. When they obtained the grant they settled it, being all persons from among us, who, being confined in too narrow bounds among their neighbours, carried a small colony thither, to your apparent advantage, tho' not only that land, but several miles below were allowed to be indisputably ours. But now, after all this, to bargain for, and sell our settlements, is a proceeding that nothing like it in America, I believe, has hitherto been known. If it be answered that 'tis by the person's own seeking that is concerned, I must (with some trouble that I am obliged to say so of any man) return, that no kind of baseness in Cornelius Empson will be thought strange by those here who are acquainted with his character and actions. He has long screened himself under the profession of a Quaker, but his inward baseness has so fre-

quently broke through the mask, and the stench of his name,[1] especially of late, has spread so fully, that nothing now is better known among his neighbours, and those that have to do with him. The Sheriff of, I think, Cecil County, is a witness with you of this, as too many that knew him here are among us, especially the magistrates of Newcastle, who now refuse to sit with him on the bench, notwithstanding his estate and sense also have entitled him to the place, for sense must be allowed him, as no knave can be a right one without it. I am sorry I am forced to give this account of him, but the business in hand requires it. I do not strain it in one syllable, and should be very well pleased that he himself saw what I write. He knows it to be true at home, though at such a distance he will doubtless talk at a much different rate. However, could this character be proved in nothing else, as it can most easily in a great many, this last action will be found to deserve no small share of it. 'Twas he himself that led us to make the grant, when, through a desire to hold a good correspondence and understanding with you, we were unwilling to grant any lands thereabouts till the division line could be run. 'Twas he that gave us the assurances that we were doubtless very safe, and now 'tis the same man that acts the first piece of treachery that has been heard of in these parts of the kind.

But I have further heard it said, that the reputed bounds of Esquire Talbot's manor will take in some part of this land, if not the whole. To this answer that the Proprietor, in granting that tract, had no reason to be solicitous how far he should grant to the northward; he intended it to the extent of his own bounds, and if he exceeded them, he still granted no more of his own than he at first designed, though he should come in many miles upon his neighbour, yet all this makes no right. That grant, I am informed, is but for 60,000 acres, and there is a quit-rent proportioned to the quantity, but by extending it so far to

[1] [The zeal of the writer for the interests of the Proprietary, has perhaps led him to speak of the character of Empson in more reproachful terms than a calmer judgment would justify. Empson was a member of the Assembly from Newcastle County, for the years 1686–'93–'95–'96–'97, was a member of many important committees, and so far as the contrary appears, enjoyed the confidence of his colleagues. He however belonged to the anti-proprietary party. — EDITOR.]

the northward, I have been credibly told it takes in at least 100,000 acres. If, therefore, the manor were circumscribed duly either to take in the quantity only that was granted, or were it to bound on the northern limits of the Province, which have been reputed to be fixed at the mouth of Otteraroe River,[1] and run thence by a direct east line and not by the courses of the river which a parallel of latitude cannot do, it would leave out all this land as it has been described by the surveyors to me, and many thousands of acres more.

I think myself obliged to lay this before thee, that a due consideration of the case may divert thee from a proceeding that cannot but be attended with very ill consequences, for no sale there can put us quiet by asserting the right of our Settlement. I have hitherto forbore demanding quit-rents of them, in hopes that my repeated applications and importunities would prevail with our Proprietor to take measures at home with yours, to have the line run, after which it could easily appear whose the right is. This, I suppose, may now shortly be effected; to accelerate which the great intimacy and friendship between the two young gentlemen, yours and our Proprietor's eldest sons, as being both well-wishers to the same cause, will in no small measure conduce. And as we are willing that matters should lie quiet till that be done, so, if any under Maryland take other measures, but especially make such a step as this, to sell our Province Settlements, it will look like an open design of hostility and breach of good neighbourhood, of which no gentleman of so clear a character as thyself can, I hope, be guilty, notwithstanding all the temptations of money that baseness itself could offer. I request thy answer to this, which I shall expect from the justice of the cause I'm concerned for, to be very favourable. In the meantime, I request thee to make no hasty proceeding of any kind till the matter can be settled. If the land be really thine, at length thou wilt have it; if ours, we must not be deprived of it. A trial is the way to determine this, which, if done by Commissioners appointed by both Proprietors, will be fully conclusive. I shall not add; but begging thy excuse for my tediousness, if I appear long, shall now take leave to conclude, with hearty respects,

Thy loving and assured friend, J. L.

[1] [Since known as Octoraro and Octorara. — EDITOR.]

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *24th of 8th-mo.*, 1705.

HONOURED GOVERNOUR:—By way of Virginia, I wrote largely the latter end of the sixth month last, which I hope will come safe to hand. This designed by way of Boston, lest the Jamaica fleet from N. York should not sail as expected, is only to inform thee that our new Assembly for the Province is now sitting, being, I presume, one of the best choices this Government ever had, but cost no small pains to make it such. We have on it, Ed. Shippen, Sam'l Carpenter, Caleb Pusey, and Richard Hill, members of Council, besides many very good heads, as I. Norris, J. Growdon, (who is now on the right side, and largely proved it last Assembly,) and the generality of the rest, as Rowland Ellis, Reece Thomas, Robt. Pyle, &c., are very honest picked men, only the Corporation has given us D. Lloyd, after he was rejected by ballot for the county and even in the town. It was unfair play got him in; our party was so strong. And in Bucks they have given us Jno. Swift and two or three more scabbed sheep, but they can do nothing. This Assembly resolves certainly to do all in their power for thine and the country's good, and will endeavour to put things in the best condition for a surrender, if thou must be obliged to it, tho' they desire the contrary. They are now reënacting those 36 Laws the Attorney-General objected against, with the amendments he desires, and are very unanimously resolved to provide for the support of Government. I will also endeavour to get a good law about thy quit-rents, otherwise shall oppose whatever they offer about property. The Assembly for the Lower Counties having last summer also laid hold on the charter chose by it the 1st instant, and met on the 14th; so that we have two Assemblys sitting at once. This is what cannot now be avoided. They appear very well affected and easy, and are also resolved to support their share of the Government, but they are miserably poor, yet have at this time the best and most regular Militia for their number of inhabitants of any place on this continent. In short, we are all exceeding easy in matters of Government, and more happy in all our circumstances, trade and wealth excepted, than

I have known since I have been here, but our losses are still great, and the unhappiness of Maryland by having their bills protested, deeply affect us, for now, tho' before they were not worth purchasing, there is not one to be had. I shall in a few days be more large, and must break off here now, referring to my other letter, especially about Ford's business and the . . . .[1] &c., and conclude.

Thy most faithful and obedient servant, J. L.

ISAAC NORRIS TO JONATHAN DICKINSON.

PHILADELPHIA, *the 31st 8th-mo.*, 1705.

DEAR FRIEND, JONA. DICKINSON: — We have none of us had any from thee all this summer, which gives us some concern. I dare not let in the least thought that any acquisition or accumulation of wealth can raise thee above the remembrance of thy friends. The frequent conversation of friends is necessary, and when at a distance, letters are the mediums for conveying the images and ideas of our minds, and where that's omitted, 'tis a just tax of neglect in friendship. Thomas Raby and Nat. Herring, passengers in the Jamaica fleet, of whose disaster thou wilt hear, were to see our town. The former was formerly my schoolmate. I knew him then, and I think him not essentially altered as to his temper and ability. He has, I understand, taken the liberty to render thy keeping a coach and manner of living to be not at all with the appearance of a Quaker. I know not whether designedly or accidentally, in his rambling talkative way, he has been free in another story, and took the liberty of it at my table. I cautioned him, as I thought proper, and as much as I modestly could in the place, and afterwards pressed Nath. Herring to do the like. I let him know how unreasonable and unjust it was to report at this distance, and more especially where thou hast so good a character remaining in the hearts of so many, what none of credit did believe. Therefore

[1] [An abbreviation is used, and is probably intended for the word *Government*. — EDITOR.]

I was, as it stood me upon as thy friend, inquisitive with Nathaniel, who gave me good satisfaction, and I must say, he appeared much the more ingenious and pretty man. I cannot but sympathize with thee, and earnestly pray that by our humility, and continual applications of spirit to the Divine goodness, we may be preferred thro' all conditions, and all reports faithful to him, in a state of safety to our own souls, and a glory to the Church, and be able to bear up against the calumnies of the ill-minded. I have wrote several times and largely this summer to which I refer. I have little to add but that friends here are generally well; thy children also in health. I begin to wish heartily thy coming, as well on their account as for the cause of friendship. I think it high time, and their temper and years call for a stricter discipline than can be conveniently found or got here under their present circumstances. A parent's eye goes farther than the best friend's, because they stand in care of nobody's censure, observations, or discourse in what so nearly concerns them. We have a new Assembly, and now sitting, and 'tis hoped better disposed to do business, or at least such business as can be done. About thirty-five of our laws are come back, with the Attorney-General's reasons against them, and are now upon re-enacting them with the alterations. Great losses again this year by the enemy as well as shipwreck, upon which West India goods are risen again. English goods continue dear, 175 per cent. or better if well bought, but abundance comes.

I formerly mentioned somewhat of Harry to take him at 40 per cent. if thou approved, but having bought two negroes since more suitable, do lay that thought aside and wholly decline it, now winter comes on again, I expect him of no manner of service, but to be laid up. I'm almost ashamed to say as is true, that I cannot dispose of him. I believe it would be much better to have him there again, where he may be of value, because of the hot country and his skill in boiling. The fellow appears very orderly here, but sickly. With mine and wife's dear love to our good friends, many and all yours, I conclude, thy real friend,

Isaac Norris.

Nat. Herring wrote me from York that Swan was dead, and

M. Holdsmon lay dying. The ships are mostly refilled, and talk of sailing in ten days.

My kind love to Isaac Gule, &c. I wrote per Runnows.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, 9*br the 8th-mo.*, 1705.

HONOURED GOVERNOUR: — The preceding is a duplicate of what I sent by way of Boston by the Commodore of the Jamaica fleet, that, meeting with a hurricane at sea, put into these northern parts to repair; the greatest part of them, with three men-of-war, into N. York, by whom this is designed, but the 4th and chief into N. England.

I have for several weeks past, upon various business, been obliged to be from home, a journey to Conestogoe, in order to compose some misunderstandings apprehended to arise among there and some other neighbouring nations of Indians, as the Shawanois and Ganawois lately settled near them, being fled from Maryland, took me up about ten days. Presently after which I met with other avocations, and then the Assembly at New Castle has taken up most of the rest to this present time, so that I am a master of very little to be so large as I could wish to in one morning, being the uttermost of what is allowed by this opportunity, tho' I must confess I have very little new to give thee but what I have already touched this year by opportunities that 'tis to be hoped will come safe. My last, mentioned in the foregoing, being by the men-of-war convoying the Virginia fleet, may, 'tis to be presumed, be depended on, in which I was very large, and full upon the state of thy affairs here, and I have yet no reason to recede in my opinion from what I then wrote, notwithstanding what may be hoped for from the better disposition of our Assembly, and the present regularity of the Government, which I must own, might carry some reason with it to induce thee to hold it thy own time, and if it might be hoped for, to transmit it in the same condition to thy posterity. . . . . .

They have passed eleven public Acts there, whose very titles

I am not now capable to give thee, being all left there to be copied. One for regulating the militia, and 2d time exempting Friends entirely from fines; another for regulating their Courts, against bigamy, swearing, profanation of the Sabbath, &c.; and have granted for the support of Government one penny in the pound, which will amount, 'tis supposed, in the whole, with four shillings per head, to about £200, according to the old rate, which, considering their poverty, was thought to be all they would now do, tho' they have not paid a penny before for those four years past. When the Governour was about to leave them, he desired that they would lay before him the Address which he understood they were preparing to the Lords of Trade, &c., the design of which was to procure as well relief against the abuses of the Collector about the Duties of Tobacco, as an order for running the division line between these Counties and Maryland, the inconveniences of it being neglected being now so great that the people live under the greatest uneasiness, that Province daily extending their claims to the others' doors, and in several places take in whole plantations, the rough draught of which being presented to the Governour, he heartily approved the intention, but perceiving it to be drawn with all the malignancy that might be expected, the deep Presbyterian leaven that is known to infect the whole mass of the author of it, R. French. He let them know their error, and desired them to put it in a dress more becoming their circumstances and relation to thee, and being then obliged to leave them, left me to assist them. In doing it accordingly, I gave them my thoughts upon it; but Robert, fond of his own performance, and more fond of his darling ill-nature and ill-will to thee, found arguments to prevail with the majority, among whom there are none of the greatest skill, to approve a second draught of his to the same purpose, and order it to be sent. His plea was that it was drawn after the best method to effect the business, and ingratiate themselves with the ministry, which, with men exceeding desirous to repair home to their plantations and look after their concerns there, very easily obtained, seeing that passing it so would save the expense of one whole day, which would be necessary to make the requisite alterations upon this. I drew up a protest, of which

a copy is inclosed, and leaving it with them came away to give an account of my ill-success to the Governour, who immediately upon it wrote his sentiments to them with some sharpness, but to no purpose; for 24 hours before it reached New Castle they were gone, the Speaker having first signed one copy, and was ordered to sign the rest at home; but as he was making thither, having more time on the road to think than before, he became exceeding uneasy, and as he is really a man of the truest honour of any in these parts, consulted so far with the other Representatives in company, that they agreed to countermand the said Address, and wrote positively to the Clerk that he should by no means deliver that which he had signed to any person but himself, and resolved to sign no more. This is truly matter of fact, and might be sufficient, a reasonable man would think, to put a stop to its proceeding any further. Yet as the care of sending home the Address was committed to friend . . . . and M . . . ., I believe the two worst that could possibly be chosen in all these counties, and were chose chiefly, the latter especially, because resident at New Castle, the most convenient place for hearing of an opportunity, so I fear their malicious diligence will delude the more honest designs of the other. When this was voted to pass, it was carried but by three, and afterwards, as I have already said, most of those who stood for it represented it. Yet the subject matter of what they did, it must be allowed, is of the greatest importance to thee and the whole country, and would deserve thy immediate care. The error only lies in its unmannerly dress in relation to thee. The Assembly here is going on very industriously, but have not yet quite finished any one Act; but with those objected against by the Attorney-General, have, I suppose, above 40 almost ready to be presented, one of which is for granting, I think, two pence halfpenny on the pound, which may amount to 12 or £15 for the public service, but 5 or 6 of this is for old debts, and an imposition on sundry commodities for three years, they say, that may amount to £500 per annum.

For three weeks or a month to come I expect to be entirely taken up in their business, after which I shall be able to give a better account of our proceedings.

When the Assembly is over, I have proposed to myself to spend good part of the rest of winter in the lower counties, upon business of property there, and so through all corners till I can fully furnish myself with all that will be necessary (and at the same time, if possible to be effected) to exhibit an exact state of thy business here, for the delay of which I often doubt thou hast largely condemned me, tho' were all our circumstances known, and that part of business that lies on me duly considered, no person there, any more than they do here, would think I do too little. I have had a sufficient check for complaining, and therefore shall indulge it no more. However, to do myself justice, and clear my thoughts of the heavy burthen of endless fatigue on the one hand, and the dissatisfaction on the other, that upon want of success in what I am concerned I know must naturally arise, I am fully bent, as I have mentioned before, to come over next year, and in the meantime shall have business in good hands here. The writings from P. Ford not arriving, gives me so much longer time than in some of my late letters I proposed. I enclose the copy of a minute relating to his claim of the land in Gilbert's, which I would request thee to consider. After the London Company have had their 5,000 acres, there will be about 12,000 left, according to our last surveys, so that if he has that, there will remain but 7,000; but if he has any good grounds for writing that unhappy letter, it may not be amiss to avoid provoking him. As to the claim of the Londoners, thou may depend on it, they will have everything at long run in their deeds maugre all opposition, unless they will agree to release as firmly under hand and seal as it has been granted to them the same way, for matters of that kind are not to be dallied with. Parchment writings cut strongly.

The two Germans that came over hither seem to have made it their business rather to come and view the lands than to propose to buy, which they never once mentioned nor proposed. They have seen most of the country, and are now returning without ever coming to so much as a treaty. They seem to like the tract of 30,000 acres laid out in right of thy first wife near New Castle County to thy eldest son and daughter, the best of any, of which the price must not be under 10 or £12 sterling

per hundred paid there; but 'tis all thy children's, and must be sold by them. We told them of not above 25,000 acres to be disposed of; Gilbert's we hold from 20 to £25; this money at 50 per cent. exchange, that is, from £13 6*s.* 8*d.* to £16 13*s.* 4*d.* sterling per cent. One of them tells us of a Collector that bought 10,000 acres, from whom he purchased one thousand, which purchase, he says, thou promised to certify to us, and order it to be surveyed to him; but we have only his word for it. Were things of that kind remembered, especially with foreigners, who are to judge of us not by preconceived opinions, but as they find us, it would be a great ease. B. Finly's attorney has a great complaint of the same kind about some lots promised to his children, as has been shown to us in his letters. Mary Phillips, R. Rooth's cousin, is very uneasy about the allowance made her. All things are dear here, and as she says she was desired to keep a maid, she finds £40 sterling a year is not sufficient for it, while she pays about £30 per annum for only her own table and chamber to R. Asheton. I sent thee one of her bills for £40 sterling, and thou advisest me of £20 more paid by a Bishop, but as she has been there about three years, there is now, at £40 per annum, £120 sterling in the whole to be answered, so that what thou hast received short of this must be [made] good to thee, she having already received either the whole or greatest part of it here of me, but at her request. I must further advise that last year, when I could not get Mary sufficient to answer common exigencies, she took up of Capt. Finney £60, and gave him a bill for £40 sterling, which she requests may be paid over and above the £40 per annum, and then if for the future they will allow her £50 sterling a year, she will confine herself to that sum; but she begs her bills may not be protested, for that brings the weight of 20 pr. ct. more upon her of a dead loss, as she felt a few weeks ago upon the return of a bill for £20 sterling, which cost her £35 here to clear. She seems to be in melancholy circumstances, and a little intercession would be a charity. She is here, she says, purely on thy recommendation, among strangers, far remote from any friends or relations, and therefore takes everything the harder. I shall now be capable to answer her, as I have this last year, fully.

But what I must say to Wm. Aubrey, I know not. I gave him a full expectation of £150 sterling by bills this fall, of all which I cannot send one. I was promised a very good £50 bill for money which I had ready, but that promise was broke to me. I took I. Reignier's note, who deals considerably for bills, for one of £38 sterling, to be delivered me 4th-mo. last, upon his return from Maryland, yet when he came through he expected good ones for several hundreds of pounds. He could not procure one that he would venture, the people there wholly refusing, so that I cannot see what must be done; all I can say is, that he must have the interest till the principal is paid, in which I shall be punctual, and, as I have mentioned, shall come over myself to answer all such as are dissatisfied, as I am well assured he will be. I request that this may be shown to him, for 'tis no purpose at this time to write to him. I have had for a considerable time money by me to lay on bills, if it were possible to meet with them, but what the meaning can be of taking no further care of sending power to make titles for the land and lots, I cannot guess for my own part. I desire none of the business for its own sake, if other considerations did not lead me to it, but let them be sent whoever the person be.

Since the 3d-mo. last, we have had no intelligence from Europe to be depended on. We have been twice or thrice amused with stories that Marlborow has had a great victory, and knocked 20,000 of the enemy on the head, &c. Last night also, by post, we are told, from Lisbon, that Charles III. is crowned at Barcelona, and Catalonia is revolted, but all things are so uncertain that those who think at all can credit nothing.

By this time thou wilt be capable, however, to judge more fully of my last long one. I must defer answering Churchill till I come over myself, which I here mention that I design it for no other end than to settle matters with thee, and find a way to make things more easy for the future. Tho' I send not W. Aubrey the bills now, I hope to get some shortly, and next year I believe will be much better to us than either of the two past, when once the Assembly is over; but the country grows poorer. The Governour writes wholly what is fit for the Lords and Com-

missioners, which makes me touch nothing of them. I am, with true love and respects to the family,

Thy most obedient servant, J. L.

By Jamaica fleet from New York.

JAMES LOGAN TO RICHARD ——.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, *9th of the 9th-mo.*, 1705.

DEAR RICHARD: — Having about a minute and a half before my pacquet is made up, I cannot employ it better than laying it out on so good, so near a friend (tho' so far distant) as thyself. Thy residence is now in a place that furnishes thee with sufficient opportunities, yet alas! how seldom it is we hear from thee, tho' I would fain hope thou believest thou hast something here still worth regarding, that is, at least, the sincere affections of a hearty friend; of which thou wast about a fortnight ago possessed of a far greater stock, when to thy solitary friend myself here, was joined the mighty accession of all that actuates the breast of that dear and true and most faithful of men, B. Shurmer, who blest me with a visit, for so I took it, from Virginia, and made me happy in it for about twelve days, to the greatest satisfaction that ever I knew since I set footing in this place. I would fain enlarge, but my time is out, and I have scarce enough to think or consider one word of sense. Pray give my hearty love to E. Hacket, E. Lloyd, and I. Anderson, and their families, and tell the latter it was very unkind in him never to take notice of mine two years ago inclosing a bill of exchange for £40, of which I have not yet heard whether paid or no, tho' a silence shews 'tis most probably on the right side. Some time next year I design to see you there. I cannot add but that I am, with true love to thyself and wife, thy assured and affectionate friend, J. L.

Thy relations here are all well. William Burge is married.

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[1] [It does not appear to whom this letter was addressed. — EDITOR.]

James Logan to William Penn.

18th of 9th-mo., 1705.

Honoured Governour: — Capt. Palmer, sailing directly from hence, I cannot let him go without a few lines, tho' I have scarce anything to add to what I have wrote by the man-of-war, besides that, this conveyance appears exceeding uncertain, by his sailing I suppose without convoy.

Thou may take it unkindly that thou receives nothing by a vessel directly from the River, but as this is the first that has gone hence this year, so none thought the design much worth their notice at a time when there's nothing that we have, can be expected to turn to any account in England. Tobacco and furs are equally discouraging, and of bills I have wrote sufficiently in my former.

By the Jamaica fleet from York there comes a large pacquet to thee under cover to J. Eley, inclosing two pacquets, to the Lords of Trade one, and the other to the Commissioners of the Customs, in both of which a copy of an address from traders of this place to the Governour, for relief against the collectors of which J. Moore, being informed, procured a copy of it, and has shown the greatest fury upon it. After these copies sent home were drawn, the manager of the address requested it might be delivered him again to procure more hands to it, which he did, for that those copies from the Governour contain not above half, or thereabouts, of the names in that which J. Moore has; but J. Guest having signed it, and afterwards desiring to withdraw his name, not being a trader, so enraged John, that I never in my life beheld rage and fury so portrayed in a face, as it appeared in his when he came to complain of it to the Governour. His pretence for all that indignation was that Judge Guest might perhaps sit upon the business, in case he should be sued by any of the merchants, and, by signing the address had prejudged the cause; but there is nothing in this, for there is like to be no suit or action against him, the people referring it till the Commissioners' thoughts of the matter can be known. He is likewise very angry that there should be so many names to it, when, as he alleges, there are not above a dozen of them shippers of

tobacco, but how many soever there may be of those, as far as I can remember, all that live in town and ship tobacco, have signed it, and all the rest are such as are some way affected with it. After our large pacquet was delivered the post, R. Hill sent me the letter from friends to thee, desiring me to forward it, which I did, directing it in a single letter (I think) to Henry Goldney. I then gave thee the reason that he wrote not himself, viz., his son's illness, which ended next day in his death, to the extreme grief of that worthy couple in losing their eldest child, a lovely and very hopeful son. They both give their tender love and respects to thee; the same does I. Norris, whose wife this morning has brought him a fifth daughter, besides two sons living. Our Assembly still sit, but have finished nothing this week; 'tis believed will produce something considerable. I know of nothing that I can now add, being just now called on for a few lines only; would take notice that the bearer is son to Geo. Palmer, a first purchaser of 5,000 acres of land here, and is the same that was a captive in Morocco for about fifteen years, till released with the rest about the end of the last reign. At his first coming over, he came with his brothers and honest sister, Ralph Jackson's wife, since deceased, to meetings, but upon his last voyage before this declined it. He has, however, no bad character. I request that those heads I have so much pressed in my late letters may be considered, and where they require it, answered. Since my last, we are more certainly informed of actions that are likely to accelerate a peace, and therefore must better thy circumstances, than which nothing is more heartily desired by, Thy most faithful and obedient servant,

J. L.

10*br*, 1705.

To the Honourable the House of Representatives for the Province of Pennsilvania, the Petition of James Logan, Secretary and Clerk of the Council of the said Province, humbly sheweth:

Whereas, upon my petition presented to the Governour and Council, and recommended to your House, to allow a reason-

able consideration for the publick services, your petitioner has for several years done and performed for this Province — which consideration was wholly referred to the wisdom and justice of the House, without presuming to request or hint at any particular sum or value — it has been decided, nevertheless, that your petitioner should make some demand as he should think reasonable, and the House would consider of it. In obedience to which, it is humbly proposed that, as in all the governments of America the Clerk of the Council has a certain salary allowed, which in New York is £50 per annum, besides £200 more that the profits of it amount to, whereas ours are nothing, and your petitioner has served this Government to the best of his ability at all times since his entry into it, not only as Clerk of the Council, which has been the smallest part of his services, but in all other affairs where his care and application was necessary, as is generally well known in this Province, and has always done it with that earnest zeal for the interest of the publick, that he ever proceeded, without any consideration for himself or the care of bringing the whole to a regular account, as has been usual with others who, being only ministerial, have charged almost every line they have wrote: — May it therefore please the House to allow their petitioner only £30 per annum for five years past, and all accounts of the Secretary's office, for Provincial Commissions, writs, proclamations, &c., shall be thrown into the account. A sum that 'tis humbly presumed your wisdoms will not think of abating anything, considering it shall be in full of all accounts to the time of this Assembly, (the Printer's account only excepted,) and your petitioner, as in duty bound, shall pray, &c.[1]

Indorsed "J. Logan's Petition to the Assembly, 10ber, 1705."

[1] [It appears that on the 11th month 8th, the House allowed to James Logan, "for his service mentioned in the said petition, for five years last past, the sum of one hundred pounds, to be paid out of the tax or imposts."—*Votes of Assembly*, p. 77. — Note by Mr. Joshua Francis Fisher.]

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, 12*th of* 10*th-mo.*, 1705.

Honoured Gov'r: — By mine of the 13th 5th-mo. last, I informed thee by way of Madeira, Fayal, Jamaica, and Virginia, of Philip Ford's letters to David Lloyd, I. Norris, and J. Moore, telling them that in 1697 his father had bought this Province and Territories of thee, that he had given thee a lease of it for three years, that since that was expired thou hadst been but tenant at will, &c.; and that now, for failure of paying thy rent, they were resolved to take it into their own hands, promising them powers by the Virginia fleet. Some of which letters I doubt not but came safe to hand. This is now to acquaint thee that by the *Messenger*, (J. Guy,) Bridget Ford has sent a power of attorney to the said persons, dated 24th January last, with a letter dated 18th of 8br, promising to send her title by Col. Quarry, which seems to shew she acts in concert with him, and is the more probable because the letter is directed to David Lloyd and J. Moore only, leaving out Isaac Norris for being thy friend, I suppose. Of this I take all possible opportunities to advise thee that thou mayst act what is needful in it in time, and if to be done before Quarry comes away. It carries great mischief with it . . . . . .

I told thee I designed in a few months to come over, but these powers not coming by the then next Virginia fleet made me defer the thoughts of it. But if Quarry brings what I have mentioned, I must come, for I cannot then bear to stay here till I have conferred with thee. The Assembly is still sitting, and very near a close. They are the best in the main that is to be expected from this Province. They have granted two pence half-penny per pound, for the public of which £800 is for maintenance of the Governour, and an impost for three years upon liquors, which will amount, they say, to 6 or £700 pr. an., one-half for the Governour himself, the others for public charges. They have amended the bills objected to by the Attorney-General. The said bill for support has not yet been before the Governour, but will, I suppose, to-morrow. David Lloyd's letter to G. W., N. M., and T. L., is seasonable, but the remon-

strance never came. He is very insolent, and intends to act, but were it not for incensing the Fords too much before the business be ended, as I fear they are so already, I would sue him [in] a large action upon his first motion without a title proved. I cannot enlarge, being straitened for time, and must therefore conclude.

Thy most faithful and obedient . . . . .

The *Messenger* has been two days arrived. J. Salkeld and passengers well, but I hear nothing of W. Aubrey's further powers. The pacquets I send shall be directed to I. Tucker, but single letters that pay small postage, I suppose, may come thus.

Devonshire House, *26th 10th-mo.*, 1705.

The Friends appointed to speak to Bridget Ford on this Meeting's behalf, to advise her to refer the matter in difference beween William Penn and herself, to the arbitration of Friends indifferently chosen between them, do report that they have spoken to her as directed, and that she refuses to refer the matter in difference between them.

The said Friends do also report they have likewise spoken to Philip Ford, and to his sisters Ann and Susanna Ford, according to the direction of this Meeting, to admonish them to forbear prosecuting William Penn at law, until they have given him Gospel order. But they have positively refused to stop their prosecution, and do still proceed in the law against him, notwithstanding the repeated advice and admonition of Friends to the contrary.

This Meeting doth therefore declare, that the said Bridget Ford, and her children, Philip, Ann, and Susanna, have therein acted contrary to our Christian principle and good order established amongst us.

And further, that this Meeting cannot have any unity with the said Bridget Ford and her children, Philip, Ann, and Susanna, until they have complied with the Christian advice and judgment of this Meeting in these matters.

Lastly, it is the judgment of this Meeting, that William Penn cannot be denyed his liberty now to make his defence in law, as he shall see meet.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, *28th 10th-mo.*, 1705.

Loving Friend: — I have received of thine of this year's date, 1st of 2d-mo., and of 3d-mo., of 5th-mo., of 6th-mo., and last night thine of 26th 8th-mo., to my great satisfaction. I will not now undertake to answer 'em distinctly by this packet-boat that goes away to-night, and the easier rather because several of them have been answered by mine sent by the new *Messenger*, Joshua Guy, Commander, with whom honest and faithful John Salkeld is gone, and his wife, and also by reason of thine of the 6th-mo. ult. is so voluminous, and came of late to my hands. I do not mention its largeness out of dislike, but am pleased thou wast so particular therein.

As to Philip Ford's business,[1] the first subject of thy large letter, as well as of my present exercise and expense, know, in short, that the same is only a mortgage, and that I offered, upon adjusting the accounts, against which I have great and equitable exceptions, that the one-half should be then presently paid, and the other reasonably secured; and that I desired not to be a judge in my own case, I proposed to refer it to Friends of their and my choosing; both which, after three years' agitation, they refused, on which I complained to the Meeting they belonged unto, and had it not been for the young man's late illness, which hindered their attendance on the Meeting, that adjourned from week to week, mostly on that account, they had been disowned by them, or had stopped their proceedings in Chancery. Those

[1] It appears that this family had formed a systematic plan to enrich themselves at the expense of the Proprietor, and as they looked to a mortgage of the Province to satisfy their unjust and usurious demands, they had taken care to be well informed with respect to its situation and improvements. In 1701, Philip Ford, Jr., was in Pennsylvania, and was entertained at the house of Isaac Norris, who, speaking of him in a letter at that time, says: "I have no knowledge of his business, but hope he has managed as wisely as closely." — L.

people have been very dilatory, false, and changeable, as well as insolent and unmannerly, and their strength is not their cause, but their abettors, some of the worst among you, and of such here as have long laid a design to supplant both me and mine. I hope the Lord will disappoint them to their shame. The reason why they will not refer their case, is supposed to be the blackness and injustice of the account, which, by Chancery, they hope to stifle, and have the oppressive sum allowed, being upon security; but my counsel, esteemed the top of that Court, assure me otherwise, and then their £12,000 pretence must bear a considerable abatement, whose accounts, tho' so voluminous, have been by Providence, more than by my carefulness, preserved entire, having never opened them since the father delivered 'em sealed to me, till on this occasion. Some of the exceptions thereunto are these: *First.* He received more monies of mine than he ever paid for me, as appears by the account enclosed. *2d.* That the pretended sum amounted to that height by an unreasonable and voracious computation of compound interest every six months, and sometimes sooner, at 6 but oftener at £8 pr. cent. *3d.* His unusual and extravagant sums he sets down as salary money for paying himself out of my monies, and 2 1-2 pr. cent. for money advanced, when the custom here is but 1-2 pr. ct. *4th.* That he did not set down any of the times on which he received £8,000 of my money, whereby one might bring the account to a balance, but continued the first sum advanced, which was £2,800, and the compound interest thereof reckoned every six months, with other demands as aforesaid. There are many things more which I cannot here insert by reason of the shortness of time, which expect by Col. Quarry, who is just upon his return to you, and I hope with a moderate issue in the business of the wool offence, and that of the vessel at Philadelphia. The Commissioners of the Customs with whom I was, and Colonel Quarry called in, shewing great tenderness upon both cases, so that Col. Quarry assured me he would follow their example, and let those matters drop easily. We are all, thro' mercy, well, and salute all our friends. My Father Callowhill intends an answer to thy last. My wife and all her children there, my son and his family also, pretty well; likely to be

preferred under Lord Treasurer in some post relating to the Treasury. Let the Governour know I had his of 6th-mo., and shall write to him by next. Friends' letter, with the many subscriptions, is come to hand. My dear love to them all, and let none be concerned about the lands they purchased, either before or since my last, abiding among you, for care was taken therein. And let them know that I neither have, nor willingly shall surrender, since they desire I should not. 'Tis very late, and for fear there should be no other pacquet after to-night, go with this pacquet-boat bound for Barbadoes, I must abruptly end. I am

Thy real friend, WILL'M PENN.

Let Samuel Carpenter know I have his, and shall answer it per next occasion, with my dear love to him and his. Also, tell Thomas Fairman I had his, to whom I intend to write. W. P.

Pray take care that Philip Ford's bond for his agency in the Society be well kept, for I and children have £700 in [it], as attorneys say. Vale.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *29th 11th-mo.*, 1705–6.

MAY IT PLEASE THE PROPRIETOR AND GOVERNOUR: — Last week I gave an account of the power of attorney sent by Bridget Ford, pr. Joshua Guy, promising the deeds to make out their title to the Province of Pennsylvania by Colonel Quarry, of which letter I sent two duplicates by way of Barbadoes, and with them copies of the Act of Property, as prepared by the Assembly, with some observations upon it, according to which the Lieutenant-Governour found himself obliged to offer it to the Assembly, if they would accept of it so, or otherwise, that they would wait an answer from thee, which he doubted not but would be satisfactory, and therefore it will be very earnestly expected, but perhaps thee may accept what is offered.

The Assembly rose the 12th instant, having agreed to 50 laws, of which is inclosed a list of their titles, some others lie by them to be concluded next session, of which that of Assigning

Bonds, &c., is expected to be one. I look not upon this opportunity to be worth venturing anything by, but the Gov'r thought himself obliged to send the Lords of Trade an account about the Act for Affirmations, he being very apprehensive about it, for those who find fault with everything, and want nothing more than occasions, 'tis feared will lay hold on this, and weaken his interest with the Church, which, as his best security, he is resolved not to forfeit; some fear thou wilt not favour it, because it introduces the affirmation as by Act of Parliament, and takes notice of the Queen's orders, but I am humbly of opinion that if thyself were now here, and could hear the same arguments that have been used on all hands, thou wouldst be pleased to think nothing that is done in relation to it unadvisable. A less security than that affirmation, among so very loose a people as in many places here shelter themselves under the name of a profession, would be very dangerous, and the compliment that is paid to the order can injure nothing, but serve for oil to make it go the more easy.

Copies of the laws shall be sent by the first good opportunity. That about quit-rents has been much laboured; 'tis the best that I could possibly obtain, and better than can ever hereafter be hoped for. The substance of it is, that it obliges all persons to bring in their rents to a certain place in the first month of every year, or upon failure give distress, or if no distress, give an action against the owner, or if there be neither distress to be had nor an owner in the country, the arrears every three years with all charges to be levied upon the land itself. On the other side, the rents are divided for the time past according to their sales and bargains as low as 3*d.* sterling, and for the time to come they must not be lessened under a shilling. Yet it is strongly alleged and offered to be proved that chief-rents in England are divided to the smallest portions. There are several other things in the Act, which will more concern me for a little while than thee and thine hereafter. It differs considerably from what it was in my first draught, but it[1] . . . . . .

Having been just now upon the Act for Confirming Patents, &c., sent up from the Assembly and committed to me by the

[1] [This portion of the original is wanting. — EDITOR.]

Governour, I find it is of that importance that I think with the Gov'r 'tis most advisable to send the draught of it to thyself, and put off the Assembly till an answer can be obtained, which is requested by the very first opportunity. Such an Act ought certainly to be thy own, and 'tis fit thou shouldst consent to every article before it is passed. Yet there is not much more in it, I believe, than what with a few amendments thou wilt think fit to grant the people before thou takes thy leave of them thyself, and if done in a suitable time, it will be so much the better. I send a copy of it both by this opportunity to Falmouth, and the Brigantine *Success*, Stephen Nichols, from this place, who designs to stay there but 8 or 10 days, they say, and then directly back hither, and may possibly go and come safe, and also by way of Barbadoes and the pacquet-boat. Upon arrival of this, I request thee to send a few lines to Falmouth in return, for if thou surrender, as I believe, Ford's business will put it out of dispute. It will doubtless be fit to do all that is requisite by an Assembly under thee, and thou canst never expect another so good. The people's great uneasiness is about a law for attestations. This Assembly is not for the English affirmation, and the Governour will allow of no other to be enacted, nor does he think he can be safe with the ministry in it. Some care in this might be of great service, for there is nothing more sensibly affects our people. I am, &c.

The Assembly has passed an Act for the arrears of the £2,000 in the Province, in the same words I drew it, without altering a syllable.

All the foregoing by J. Martin's Brigantine *Success*, Stephen Nichols, Master, to Falmouth, directed to the Secretary's office, to J. Tucker, Esq., at Sir Charles Hedges; also, to Barbadoes by Capt. Stevens for the pacquet-boat.

I send thee, also, enclosed a copy of an Act just ready to be passed, for preventing the great abuses put upon us by shipping our heavy moneyed bits, and importing the light money from the West Indies. There will nothing more facilitate the bringing in of the Queen's Proclamation than this, whenever there are sufficient orders given to the Lord Cornbury to bring it in

to the Government under him, but because malice may term it a presumption and represent it as interfering with the said Proclamation. I send this to remove the imputation, until it can be sent over fair to the Lords, with an apology for it first directed to thyself. Time will not allow me now to add but that I am, as before, thine, &c., &c. J. L.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, *7th 12th-mo.*, 1705–6.

James Logan — Loving Friend: — Since my last of the 28th 10th-mo., which I sent via Barbadoes, and expect will come to hand before this, whereof the inclosed is a copy, I received one of thine of the 9th 9br., and was very glad of the contents thereof, and shall be so to hear those prospects thou hadst of the happy issue of the sitting Assembly fully answered, for thence it is we must date the beginning of our future comforts, or living there would be a perpetual carefulness, if not war within ourselves. I hear by Col. Quarry there is a pacquet come for me by the *Nonsuch*, but is not yet come to hand, of which the Colonel had a letter, the ships also being arrived above a fortnight, which shews an overcarefulness to deliver it to me, or that it sticks by the way, which am sorry for, being willing to have answered it by this opportunity.

I promised in my last to be more particular about Philip Ford's business, but the large account I have given in the inclosed letter sent to Friends, which I have left open that thou mightst read it and make thy remarks thereon, and after to seal it with the lesser seal of the Province, and then deliver it . . . .[1] The Parliament having laid a tax on monies at interest, the said Philip Ford, under a pretence, as he said, only of saving the money from being taxed, which would have amounted to about £300, did frequently urge me to save him that money by a show of releasing the equity of redemption, according as counsel had advised, whose opinions I have by me, and have produced; and

[1] Here a passage is obliterated. — L.

that it might look of the better face of taking a lease of the premises for three years, tho' upon his urgent request I made him a mortgage of the whole in usual form with condition of redemption about 6 months before, which was in the year 1696, —I then not so much as suspected the baseness and extortion of the account,—which for a long time I refused, but at last consented to it, in confidence of the performance of these three things, which he solemnly promised in the presence of his wife: *First.* That notwithstanding whatever was or should be done or executed between us, that the premises should still continue only as a mortgage, and that it should never be otherwise used by him or his. 2*dly*. That it should always be kept privately between ourselves, and never hinder or obstruct the sale of land, and that he would never urge or press me for money but as I could raise it out of the Province; and 3*dly*. That he would execute to me a deed-poll containing a clause for the redemption of the premises, and reducing the same on the foot of mortgage, tho' not by the name of a defeazance, the better to blind the business upon his affirmation. This he accordingly executed, bearing date about 10 days after the release, within which, I suppose, was the time appointed by the Commissioners for an examination.

Now these ungrateful persons, worse than the wolf in the fable, lay hold of the crutch that I gave them to help them along, and do unjustly fight against me therewith; and his wife still pleaded on the force of that release until she was otherwise advised by her own counsel, and persuaded her husband to alter his will, that he made according to our agreement, and to make another, which was his last, and therein laid hold of the said release that I granted for their favour as an absolute title, and not a condescension to serve them, than which nothing can be more villanous, which and more are larger set forth in my bill in Chancery.

I hope I shall be able, with the assistance of my friends there and here, together with what monies may be raised by foreign purchases, viz., the Saxons and Swissers, &c., to pay off the just debt due to Philip Ford; but in case the Court of Chancery should order him his unexampled and extortionate sum, having

sufficient reason to think the contrary, then I must sell part of my manours and what else I can to raise the same. I have wrote to Friends, as thou'lt see in my letter, about their assistance in this matter; what they will do therein would have thee send me an account by the first opportunity.

Am sorry there should be any persons among you so ungrateful as to act still in despite of me, who endeavour their good, and I admire that there should be such considerable factions now raised, when you have so moderate and friendly an Assembly, and matters seem to look of a better aspect. However, as it happens, I have not any accounts that such representations are come to the Lords for Trade and Plantations concerning my property, and I hope your good offices will obstruct them.

As to the provision of my younger children on that side the water, I would have thee, as opportunity offers and a good bargain presents, to buy some pretty tracts of plantations there of the first purchasers for my children's use, and shall not be unmindful of those young ones so dear to me.

I will not part with any land in Gilbert's[1] to Philip Ford, and am not ignorant what he meant when he said he would in time find a way to make himself easy, but shall endeavour to disappoint him therein. I hope that the great success in Spain by the prudent conduct of the Earl of Peterborough, my very good friend, will contribute much to the opening a trade with the Spaniards, and furnishing you with money.

As to the London Company, I will accommodate that matter the best I can, several of them being very ready to offer me their assistance as far as they can, if things should press me in this present conjuncture.

The neglect of the division of the boundaries[2] lies not at my door. I have already pressed the Lords for Trade about it, and will again, tho' I had rather it was done while I was on the spot.

I have spoken to M. Phillips' relations about her, but she must wait a little longer with patience; there will come for her by this fleet, if possible, a box and two umbrellas. Robt. Ashton has got the return of her moneys, which is very like Robert.

[1] [A manor of that name. — EDITOR.]
[2] Between Pennsylvania and Maryland. — L.

William Warren assures me that tobacco and logwood would be of a great value here, at least of as much more as the prime cost.

The Germans have been with me, and talk of buying of about 2 or £3,000 worth of land.[1] The Doctor, a Saxon, is now returned to his own friends with an account thereof. Let the two Germans that are left behind, Johann Henry Kirsten and ——— Nohr, have the 500 acres of land between them, they giving sufficient security therefor, until their pretensions appear clear. The Germans incline most to have the Susquehanna lands, and will give more for them here in ready money than what's proposed there, of which send me thy private thought.

I have sent the Governour a Commission without the frightful reservation; so that tender Briton and patriot, D. Lloyd, trusting upon the Governour's honour and integrity, in the use thereof, have only signed it, and do desire thee to take care that the Master of the Rolls seal it with the great seal of the Province.

William Hage's mortgage to old Philip Ford, on my behalf, is so well known to his son, that is in those parts, that for £10 he offered me to release the equity of redemption some years since in this town, and pray make an end with him by the first

[1] These Germans brought with them industrious and frugal habits, virtues of primary importance in a newly-settled country, and that part of the Province which they chose for their settlement has not been surpassed by any other in the beauty of its cultivation; nor will it be thought far-fetched that the Saxons and Swiss possessed a love of liberty and a regard for free institutions. In the beginning of our perilous Revolutionary War, it became necessary fully to ascertain the sentiments of the people in the interior of the Province, and in Pennsylvania it was thought proper to know with certainty what part the Germans would take in the approaching contest; accordingly, three of the most influential gentlemen of that period, under the guise of a pleasurable tour with their wives, visited with this view some of the most populous counties. The party made a fête in the woods, near one of the towns, to which many of the German farmers were invited, who assured them that their countrymen were almost unanimous in their cause. One old man said, that his father had fled from great oppression in Germany, and on his death-bed had charged his sons to defend the liberties they enjoyed in this country, if it should be necessary, with their lives. I had this anecdote from one of the gentlemen. — L.

opportunity, and suffer me not to be a loser on that side of the water, as I have been of our own; hoping they will allow me that land I bought of the old Indian king, at Pennsbury, as part of my proportion, or let me have the goods again for which he sold it me for a seat for myself.

I am sorry thou didst not take Beaumont's business by the right end, his 300 acres upon Cancorass Creek [Rancocas?], a navigable place. It was put up in my escritoire,[1] with divers papers relating to it as to location, delivery, and seizin. Beaumont bought it of William Biddle, as the papers shew, and he or his heirs must make me satisfaction for it, since it is of more real value than 5,000 acres in the woods. Pray think of my West Jersey interest both above and below the river, of some value to me and my poor children; as also of my East Jersey Propriety. I took care of thy letters, as I do of one from one of thy relations in Ireland, come by this opportunity. I am, with unfeigned love,

Thy assured friend, WILLIAM PENN.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

LONDON, *9th 12th-mo.*, 1705–6.

JAMES LOGAN — LOVING FRIEND: — I this day received thy packet by John Hamilton, who had been a week or ten days in town, and never sent it me, or left it for me at any place; but as it happens, Col. Quarry, by whom this comes, goes not till the 11th, and so have time to answer it briefly.

I'll begin with thy lesser and last letter of 9th 9br. I am glad with all my heart this Assembly considers the load that Government is to me, but I hope it is not intended by thine it should

[1] This piece of furniture, mentioned more than once in these letters, is still in existence: it was bought by Samuel Coats, of Philadelphia, at a sale made by John Penn, Esq. After James Logan's death many of the goods at Pennsbury were sold at auction by an agent of the family. A gold-headed cane that had belonged to the Proprietor was purchased by a farmer of Bucks County. Some will perhaps smile at such intelligence as this, but there is a class of readers to whom it will not be unacceptable. — L.

be continued upon me in any branch of it; wherefore, pray know that I pay not one doit or farthing after a revenue established. Next, it was but two hundred pounds pr. ann. that I allowed, (your money,) and if I must make it sterling, that is £350 a year as your rates go, if not more by thy reckonings in thine of the 22d of 6th-mo. ult., and as I only promised 200 pr. ann., your pay, it will be tight enough upon me that I make it, if thou wilt, £300 your money; but thou shouldst have informed me first what rate thou hast paid at hitherto; thou canst not be sensible of my great needs, and plead for sterling, and an advance, and perquisites. I can't reach thy meaning in it. I hoped to have come in for a share in the publick allowance to the Governour, 1-3d at least of the people's gift, especially if he has a share of the fines. For that I should have neither share in the salary of the Government, and lose all my fines too, is too much, in my opinion, as well as circumstances to be abated, or to run by the mill.

I grant, if he must treat all strangers as at a constant table, or live like Lord Cornbury or Col. Seymour, he had need of great supplies; but then let the country give them, I can't, nor does so small a colony, and infant too, require such an expense, as well as it cannot pay it. Had that law still existed Thomas Lloyd gave up, of which I have ere now informed thee, there had been no need of this tedious work, there had been enough for us all. It is a very weak argument, that, because I spent £1,000 pr. ann., that had a family, as a wife, child, nurse, three maids, and three or four men, a single man must spend £600 pr. ann. Col. Winthrop, Governour of Connecticut, is not so allowed, nor Col. Cranston, Governour of Rhode Island, that were colonies three score years before us, and have not more than I allowed Col. Evans; add to this that Lord Cornbury had but £600 pr. ann. at the most, for salary, besides his command of a company, and General Codrington the same, or but £700 pr. ann. at the most, till the Queen augmented to the first, and for Colonel Dudley, with his great command, they have not allowed him more, or very little, and the Carolinian Lords, not so much, I think, as I do him, tho' there are eight pockets to pay it; but of all this thou art sensible I desire thy utmost good

husbandry and the Governour's contentment in doing what I can, and believe that I both love and have honoured him in great company, and have made him known to people of note, with a valuable character, and if I surrender, he may depend upon my friendship. I am glad I hear he is a provident and discreet Governour, but I cannot learn why he must keep house. He might as honourably have boarded, especially before a publick revenue, and I would do so still. 'Tis the pest and folly of the world that state prevails, without considering the difference in ranks and circumstances, and that the same words do not signify the same things; for that very reason, Governours, Mayors, Colonels, Counsellors, and Justices of the Peace, are not of the same import or significancy everywhere or alike, though the same letters spell those words.

Well, thou desirest an express answer to thine, being the total of it, and of so much weight with thee, wherefore I issue it for the time past at £300, your money, pr. ann., but none for times to come, if the country has provided for a Governour. I have had a complaint of his taking £8 per license, sent me over by those that wish him and me well. Now if there be but thirty such houses, they make £240 pr. ann., besides many lesser ones, and what fines I know not, and then there is the Register's place! I do again a little complain of thee, to thee, for thou hast shifted thy judgment about selling the Government, one time with all speed, and another time, keep it; one time, sell all — perplexities in property staring us in the face, as well as those in Government — another time, sell Government only, and go thither and enjoy myself quietly, in the evening of my time, with my family and friends, and it would much advance my property, and thou advisest me to sell Government and the millions of rough lands remaining, being about thirty millions of acres, unless the lakes divide with me. Now the opinion I have of thy abilities, as is well known to our Secretaries and great men here, makes me stagger under diversity of directions. I know also thou hast two or three good heads there in thy intimacy, and that I make myself believe love me and wish me well, that are good assistants to thee, and I wish I had your solemn final resolve what I shall do. Clear off the Fords, and I fly to you, and I believe

some here will advance half, at least 1-3d. Did Friends there do the like, and thou, out of mine own in thy hands, or due to me, help to crown all, be the same £6 or £12,000 to be paid. I have not yet a list or inventory of what bonds and bills and mortgages, &c., as thou promised me, and would have been of a surpassing credit to me in my straits, especially with some friends in profession and friendship, had I only had a certificate of their value or total, it had been kind. Thou must take all in good part from a loaded mind and a sore spirit.

I do, by M. Anstell, Joseph's brother, who is Nathaniel Markes' agent, going over in six weeks to Jamaica, intend directions about what effects were in the hands of the executors of W. Rogers, and J. Mills [of] whom Dr. Dover gives an ill character. I have not yet read thy long letter, but hope to do it, and answer it before the fleet is clear off the Channel. Contract expenses all that is possible; be as sharp and diligent as time and health will let thee, and if Friends there will help to keep me my property, I'll endeavour to keep the Government among us. My paper is scanty, and time more so, and therefore, with true love to thee, and friends and servants, I close.

Thy sincere friend, WM. PENN.

P. S. — If Jonathan Dickinson or brother should draw upon thee, or any by my order, to assist Lord Fairfax and company about fishing for a wreck near Jamaica, to the value of £300 credit me. Why do you not prosecute D. Lloyd on the points I hinted at to the Governour and thee? and why does not Judge Mompesson answer my desires in that and other matters? Compound with all that will shew they are in earnest, or prosecute such as will not.

If they will not part with D. Lloyd from the city, I will part with them, or part them. The Duke of Shrewsbury being come over, I shall apply myself to him on the old score; but pray forget not the hints I long since gave of his acting as Master of the Rolls without commission, his forgery of the Sessions orders, and those of the Assembly, which he has now renewed to W. Mead and T. Lower — a perfect rebel to gratitude, and most malicious. Pray let my son have justice against the authors of

that barbarous affront committed upon him and company: *First*, he was my son; *2dly*, he was the first of the Council and not rightly within their order, or orb of power, or their reach. They might have complained to the Governour, only his superior there, who with the Council might have had cognizance thereof, being no Assembly impeachment, and I take it as done to myself, tho' I blame his giving any handle to those people to reflect upon him. He wants money, and therefore pray remit the effects of his imprudent, hasty sale by the first opportunity, by such methods as he desires, deducting his extraordinary charges, and allowing what I allowed him in my order to thee, viz., his common accommodation, and 20*s.* per week for pocket expenses, and his passage home.

I forgot another of D. L.'s crimes, namely, that while he acted as General Master of the Rolls, and Clerk of the Peace, he suffered encroachments upon my lots in the City and manours in the County, and recorded them without one caveat entered in favour of his master and patron, or my poor children.

Am thy real friend, WILLIAM PENN.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

[*Extract.*] *16th 12th-mo.*, 1705–6.

. . . . Pray take especial care to speak to Edward Shippen to send over the bond, as by my letter I advised him, that Philip Ford gave the old Society of Free Traders, taking first an authentic copy of it and recording it in the Rolls of the Province, according to custom; also, get Benjamin Chambers, Joseph Pigeon, and Francis Rawle, with the rest of the governing party of the old Pennsylvania Company or Society, to meet together and dispatch full powers to William Crouch, Thomas Barber, and Rich'd Bury, with any other they shall think fit, to ask for, demand, procure, and obtain of and from Bridget Ford, executrix of Philip Ford, all such books of accounts, writings, and sums of money as are in her custody, belonging to the said Society, and that with all possible speed.

The business of Beaumont proves very vexatious to me here.

They say that £15 of the consideration money is yet due to them. Pray see if there is any account of it on the back of the writings, or in any other papers, for I don't remember anything of it, or know that I owe them one penny. Pray send, &c.

Thou art desired likewise to send an account whether John Bewley, who lived in Philadelphia, and was Receiver-General for several plantations, be dead, as reported, and what estate he left, that his brothers may make application to recover it.

I am thy assured friend, WM. PENN.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

ORCHARD, *2d 1st-mo.*, 1705–6.

With our love to thee, and our real friends of our own and neighbouring Provinces, I take this unexpected opportunity to let the Governour and thyself know that I have writ by Colonel Quarry, very particularly to you both, and a duplicate by way of Boston. For Philip Ford's affair, 'tis in Chancery. I have paid since the pretended first debt of £2,800, Anno 1682, above £8,000; they pretend to £12,000, and I say not above £4,000, or but thereabouts; and they have been as insolent and wicked as their advantages and the worst of tempers and spirits could prompt them to, and tho' their allowed usury would forfeit all, at least obliges me to pay three times what it comes to. I aim only at a fair principal and interest, and to pay and secure what I can't pay down in a way unquestionable. Thou wilt find things punctual and clear in my before-mentioned pacquets to the satisfaction of the nicest honour and justice on my side, and the most superlative baseness and ingratitude on the father's and mother's side — the worst of the two, Bridget Ford — as well as theirs that owe all to my interest and favour.

I rejoice to hear by Col. Evans and thine of 9br, how well things have gone in the last Assembly. I shall be ready to do any reasonable thing to pleasure them, and I do not only hope, but believe it will lay a foundation of a good correspondence between the governing and the governed, whether it be by the

Queen's officers, or mine under her — tho' I incline to keep my Government at our Friends' desire, if it be practicable.

The Queen's determination upon the present body of laws comes with the aforesaid pacquets — what is repealed and what confirmed — and when the amended ones come I shall labour their dispatch. However, you have about 80 laws confirmed: twenty-odd in King William's time, and fifty-odd now, which carries the face of authority and Government.

The line I labour for, tho' I could wish to be present when it is run, but Lord Baltimore shuns it what he can, and his agent, Colonel Darnall,[1] said he had no orders when I was there. I am glad the business of the Conestago and the other Indians came off so easily. By all means temper them and preserve their good opinion and friendship towards us, without giving any just distaste to our neighbours, English or Indians.

I care not how soon thou comest, for the want of the reputation and credit I have there is of the fatallest consequence to me and mine. Do only come, tho' but for two months' time; or send what is due, and what may be done there so convincingly as may induce relief here. The Germans press me, not for the 30,000 acres in New Castle County, but the Conestago land; perhaps I may get of the £5,000 your money, 3 if not £4,000 sterling, and yet I would be sorry not to have one 5,000 acres there myself; but anything to be a freeman. I have had a letter from Samuel Jennings, to whom and family my dear love, and let him know I am no changeling to my friends, tho' not so to myself and poor family; and tell him my son has, I think, settled his affair about B. Waller. I own his love to my son when there . . . . . .

I have sent a guinea to J. Sotcher from a cousin of his near Alsford by Col. Quarry. My father Callowhill's pacquets I have sent per London, and now per Bristol opportunities, a duplicate, &c. comes. We are all through mercy well, and a Richard Penn fills up my brother Richard Penn's vacancy, a stout boy, and about 6 weeks old, so that now our stock speaks five.

Most of thy acquaintance still in being. Dr. Dover gives Hill an ill character, and praises one Thurgar, or some such name, in

[1] [Probably either Henry or John Darnall, both of whom were members in 1683 of the Council of Maryland. — EDITOR.]

Jamaica; I think a lawyer. But upon the design of some patentees of my kindred, as Lord Fairfax, Sir R. Booth's son, and mine, of fishing for a wreck not far from thence, Jamaica, I give them or their assignees the credit of that sum to Jonathan and Caleb Dickinson, with orders to draw on thee by way of our goods or produce to the value of 200 or 300 more, to fit out a small vessel equipt for the work — one way of making a small return. The bearer calls for my letter, so I must conclude, of whose being not gone I learnt but to-day about ten, and it is now about 4 o'clock.

Thy real friend, WM. PENN.

WILLIAM PENN TO JONATHAN AND CALEB DICKINSON.

BRISTOL, *6th 1st-mo.*, 1705–6.

DEAR FRIENDS — JONATHAN AND CALEB DICKINSON. — Some relations and acquaintances of mine having obtained a grant from the Queen about fishing of wrecks near your Island, and wanting credit upon your Island, being not merchants, yet men of account, I offered, or they desired me to give it them, with any of my friends or acquaintance, and they would answer it to me, presuming the whole not to exceed £300, without special order for the same, which you are to direct the use or employment of, to the aforesaid design, viz.: for a small sloop of 30 or 40 tons upon hire per month, and seamen, divers proper instruments, all upon hire, if you think best, or upon purchase. A month's fishing is the time limited, and no more; weather being fair, for if in that time no assurances appear of such a wreck, that then the captain, they hope an honest as well as an ingenious man, be dismissed, to go upon his own account, free of our charge; as also poor little Benj. Lopdell, but for his excellent father's sake, Daniel Lopdell, old Luke Howards, son-in-law of Deale. I must recommend him to your love and care, being a scribe and an accomptant, and somewhat of a scholar, and an honest lad, to employ or dispose of him in some way that may be encouraging to him for his future livelihood.

Now know that to reprise or pay you, I have money in the hands of the executors of William Rodgers and James Mills,

and send you a Letter of Attorney to receive the same; as also an authority to James Logan, my Receiver-General, to answer the rest of the said sum of £300 to you or order at Philadelphia; and I have already sent him advice there of two ways to make pay. Pray observe well the Commander, his sobriety and sincerity, and be the more confiding, as you find him so, or the less otherwise; for you are trusted by all concerned to check or encourage, as you really see cause, not losing a sheep for a ½*d.* of tar, nor yet trifling away money upon improbabilities, which these gentlemen hope is not their case. I'and mine I bless God are pretty well, and my wife and self very heartily salute you and yours, with the friends among you; and I should be pleased to hear if Jonathan thinks of removing to Philadelphia again. Your uncle Dickinson I often see, who has had 2 or 3 late fits of illness, but is pretty well recovered again. Friends generally well, save Cornelius Mason and old Edward Man, who are deceased, and Robert Elliott's wife. I add not now, save that I am in reality,

Your affectionate friend, WM. PENN.

1706.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

[*Written in the Spring of* 1706, *in reply to a letter of Penn, dated December* 9, 1705.]

If thou conceived any hard thought of me upon this business, thou wilt find by the first inclosed, — wrote at the time of its date, and of which I have already sent away two duplicates, and design a third, now ready, besides this, — that my intentions were mistook; and whatever may be apprehended from what I have wrote, I never altered my sentiments about one tittle. I am sure I have never been partial against thy interest, whatever I have been for it, and I should think myself egregiously so if I proposed anything like what thou seems to apprehend from my letter; for the difference between him and me now is, whether

into the money thou allowest, all perquisites are not to be reckoned; and whether what the Assembly allows, it being given to thee, tho' payable to him, ought not to extend backward for the time past, as well as for the time forward, which I take to have been their intention. So that thou wilt find me as careful for thy interest, on that head, as can be desired, yet at the same time I am for a more reasonable allowance than £200, but would not have thee pay it. As for what is said of other governments, I think it does not hold, with submission, for there is not one of them but has double their salary by other profits; and the point here is, whether there should be anything more than barely the salary, or whether into that salary also should be accounted all perquisites whatever. Thy computation of the amount of Licenses in a year is grounded on an error. The taverns in town, 'tis true, paid for these 2 years past £8 for a License, which was a continuance of mine at the Council Board, to save the money, and not to put it into his pocket; tho' now he reckons otherwise, for I could not bear to be always advancing money to him, as I had been for 6 months after his arrival; and from that time I never paid him a penny, but had advanced before that above £100, and what he has had since is in the charges of the housekeeping, of that £8 10*s.* which comes to my office, and of such houses there are but about 7 or 8 in town; the rest paid from 40*s.* to £4, my office fees included. However, the whole came to above £100 per annum — I suppose near £150. T. Grey, who does all the business, of course, in the Secretarie's Office, received the money for him, and always was his Cashier, so that I never received it. Pray settle this matter fully between us, for I shall suspend it till I have an answer, but shall still continue my claim. As for his keeping house, I have given a full account of it before. There was no place in town that could or would accommodate him, and I found those with whom he had been at first, reckoned at least £5 a week, as much more that it would cost him at a house where he might have a perfect freedom and call it his own, besides that, it would look much more respectable and be much more convenient. We lived as cheap as possibly I could contrive it, had just two dishes of meat a day unless upon some few occasions, and no

more, but everything is so chargeable here that itself drew high. Jos. Cheeseman was our provider, caterer, butler, and everything; only one maid to cook; but when thy son and he were both here, it was higher. Joshua, by thy letters to me, I know needs no good word to recommend him for a very good servant; and yet he and I very often differed about our expenses, till I got myself an ill name by it. I am sure I had a very great fatigue by it, but expect no other returns for the whole than blame. I never, that I know of, paid money so unwillingly on my own account as I all along did for the house, till such time as the Assembly gave money; and now they have done it, there is none like to come, it seems where I expected. As for thy coming in for a share of what the country gives, I see nothing unreasonable in it, so far as it may pay for the expenses thou art at for the service of the Government; but that the Lieut. Gov. should have any share of the fines, I see no reason, if he is sufficiently paid otherwise. But upon the whole I think that you should be upon a certain agreement, which in my judgment would be reasonable: thus, that in case the profits of Government amounted not to £300 this money, thou should make it up that sum; that, if they exceed £300, he should still have them as far as £400 or £500; provided, always, that thou art at no manner of expense, and that all that exceeds that sum should come to thee. By the profits of the Government, I understand all monies whatsoever that arise from the Government, whether grants of Assembly, fines, forfeitures, or whatever it be, and that he should be obliged either to keep an exact account, or else that such and such perquisites should be valued at such a certain rate, or that they should be all paid to a certain person, who should keep an exact account of them as to me or my deputy; for a Governour seldom or never receives money himself. And this, I believe, would be a very equal way; for I think 'tis as reasonable that the Governour-in-Chief should get by his Government and agree with his Lieutenant, as 'tis for me to agree with T. Grey in my office; nor do I see the difference, but in degree. These are truly my sentiments between both, and neither better nor worse than I should have given them last 12th-month, when that letter was wrote. 'Tis his cousin has the Register place, who, I think, may well enough deserve it.

What I mentioned of the amount to licenses, will not hold now, the Assembly having reduced them to 40*s.* in town, and 20 out of it. Before I quite leave this subject, I cannot but observe that I expect a severe censure for the discrepancy between what I wrote formerly of the Gov. and the account given in my last letter; but I cannot avoid it. If I be just, I am obliged to relate things as I find them, and think I'm no more to blame than if I were to give an account of the several phases of the moon for a month together. I should say that when I first saw her, she appeared only like a C inverted; at 7 days, like a semicircle; at 14, like a whole circle; and so back again. I might be answered that the body of the moon was certainly the same all this time, and had been so for thousands of years, which, tho' true, yet argues not but that what I said was true, and that I ought to give that account and no other. And 'tis to be remembered that all men are compounded of a variety of passions. Of the worst of men some good may be said, and of the best some ill. We call good or bad, not considering men absolutely so, but as the one or the other is predominant, and the character of any man exactly drawn will require a variety of colors. In everything I have said, I at this minute believe I have been very just, and were I to write again, should neither add nor diminish, any otherwise than as I might be disposed to use a greater or less freedom in expressing myself. These last words further lead me to beg an allowance; for that I take the Lt. Gov. used to write to thee after the same manner he would any other superior; but for my part I take the weight of business that lies on me to be an entire dispensation from any manner of ceremony. There are certain rules and degrees to be observed in accosting a great man, but his domestics are admitted without any besides common good manners, which privilege I desire may be allowed me in distinction from those that claim it not.

I sent a duplicate of the first three sheets by John Guy, to White Haven, with 4 or 5 more, in which I was large about the Gov. of the Jersey lands, and some other heads. What there is about T. S. I wish were unwrit, for I shall not meddle to make any such request, only I think that as the Assembly has past an Act requiring all deeds to be recorded, which will mightily

increase his business, so if both sealing and recording of patents belonged to my office as well as drawing them, it would be very just and reasonable, for positively my whole profits out of the Secretary's Office amount to not much above £50 or £60 a year. There have been but 435 Patents issued ever since thy departure, for they stand all numbered; and the business of Warrants, which never yielded much, seems quite over. Yet because I have the management of thy concerns I am looked on as somebody, but want a support or bottom to answer the figure. (Thomas was married 15 days ago) Besides, I must consider life is like the seasons of the year, which has a time to sow, a time to reap, and a time to do neither, but spend, if we have it. As I take it, I am so far from deserving to be upbraided, for endeavoring to get something that I think I can never answer it to myself, if in these years I provide not for another day; and I hope thou canst not blame me, while I seek not to strain upon thee, or take anything out of thy pocket, but as it is indisputably my due.

I have secured Wm. Aubrey his money by bonds here, but have unhappily abused some very honest men, who have bought parts of the great lot, and built brick houses on them, without a title. They have paid no money, 'tis true; but their whole improvements are in danger, and they are ready to pay if they could have a title. They were drawn in by me, believing I was safe, and that I had men of sincerity to deal with. But if those deeds I so often wrote for, and which thou sayest he promised by Guy last year, arrived not with these Virginia ships, in which Col. Quarry comes, I shall certainly conclude something else than what is fair is designed, viz.: After he has security for his portion there, to keep that and the lands here too, in his own hands, he has made over only 5,000 acres of land, and the appurtenances granted to her by some old deeds we know nothing of. The persons to whom it is made over have sent us a blind Letter of Attorney, witnessed only by two persons there, and not otherwise certified, which thou canst not but know, as well as that it will not do. Her 5,000 acres are patented, without relation to those old deeds that were never seen here, nor heard of. Her great lot is also patented without relation to them, and

therefore must be conveyed by re-title of the Patents. But besides these there are 15,000 acres of valuable land in Chester and New Castle Cos., also firmly patented to her, of which there is no manner of mention made in any deeds sent over. I sent, by thy son, full accounts of this, with copies of all the Patents, or sufficient accounts of them. The portion agreed on was £2,000 and interest till paid, and they were to release all their rights here to thee. If thou expects this, it ought effectually to be done, without further dependence. Philip Ford may be one instance more to thee that mankind is not to be trusted where their interest is concerned, if they can have any pretence for it; and how far W. Aubrey's character will exempt him from the level of mankind for generosity, I shall leave, especially if it comes to be tried in a case where 'tis only taking from the father to give the daughter. For my own part, I have nothing to interpose against her having all the lands designed for her at first, unless it be fully agreed otherwise; but that he shall have these lands, and the £2,000 secured to him besides, seems barbarously unjust. I must upon this say it seems nothing strange to me that thou art so plunged into difficulties, for such a management must produce unhappy effects, and we cannot so reasonably complain of being abused, when there is no care taken to prevent it. I had ordered the matter so at first, as that thou needed not to have gone to ask. For this I got patents drawn and signed for all her lands, and told her I had taken very good care for her, as I am sure I had, which was all she knew of the matter. Yet, because she was a maid, and undisposed of, I kept them from the seal, all but one; because I knew there could be no service while a father is living in making an unmarried daughter absolute mistress of 5 or £600; and yet, lest anything should happen, I had it secure for her. I hinted this to thee when I wrote also about Johannes' Patents, viz., that one of the Trustees was dead; but I had very quickly a positive order to pass them all, which appeared then somewhat strange, for Letitia was married, and thou hadst contracted otherwise with her husband, and I thought it looked odd to make a dead man, viz., Edw. Penington, as Trustee; however, the order was observed immediately. I know not whether I shall be thought

to take too much upon me here, but I would venture a small imputation, if it would but contribute to rouse thee to think thoroughly of thy interests in such weighty points. I have bills for £100 sterling for W. Aubrey, to send by the fleet, and have bought and paid for the like sum more, but shall scarce receive them in time to send by the same conveyance. I suppose they must come to the Trustees. This makes £300, and I have good bonds for £570 more, which makes up what I have received of hers, besides the £100 sterling bill she carried with her, and charges. I have sold to the value of £700 more, which would come in and pay interest, if I could make the people's titles. However, whether their lands pay thee or not, thou payest them. There will be due next month, in the whole, £720 this money, for interest of which I have actually paid £600 (or 590, I am not now certain), and shall be punctual with the rest; £180 per annum here is certainly some part of thy yearly revenue, when the rents of the whole province are not £400 sterling a year, and the rents of the Lower Counties are always so miserably paid. I hope to remit this year to Master William 2 or £300 this money, but cannot be positive. I shall write to him by the fleet. I am concerned with W. Trent in building a ship of 400 hhds. to be loaded hence in the Spring, before which I believe I shall remit thee nothing but the inclosed, or a few bills for rent. Pray oblige R. Rooth to pay this bill, for she had it of me;[1] and be pleased to deliver him the inclosed, sealed if thou thinkest fit; 'tis at her request. R. Ashton must not have the return for her money; 'tis base in him and like him, and shows him a true cousin. I designed to ship 20 hhds. Tobacco by Is. Norris, but being absent from town most of the 12th and 1st mos., he was loaded before I could get it ready; but I believe 'tis no damage for going with the fleet. Tobacco must be low at its arrival. As to what relates to the Assembly, I need say little. They met; the Gov. made a speech and had an answer, copies of which are inclosed either in this or the Gov.'s letter. They were ordered to adjourn to some time in the 6th-mo., but would not agree to any other time of themselves but the 20th of the 7th-mo., 10

[1] [Alluding to M. Phillips. — Editor.]

days after which a new election comes on. They are all disgusted, and I expect the next will be as bad as any we have ever had yet. We have all lost our interest by the late proceedings, and thou wilt certainly suffer. As to Ford's business, I wish thou may not be disappointed and Council deceive thee. Security given generally ends all accounts, and thy paying the interest of the balance for some years strengthened them against thee. I much fear the result in Chancery, and am apt to believe thy relief must be from the House of Lords, if to be obtained anywhere. . . . . But as for prosecuting D. Lloyd, I know not how we shall go about it. That letter which he sent in the Assembly's name, and which thou said in the letters per Dunster was inclosed, there would have been the only foundation to have gone upon this last Assembly. But that letter never came. As many things are mentioned in thy letters, to be sent that are not, and now the opportunity is slipt, I fear as for the other charges against him, that they will not hold. 'Tis in vain, I believe, to attempt it; he carries so fair with our weak country-people, and those that long looked upon him to be the champion of Friends' cause in government matters in former times, that there is no possessing them. In the Assembly the most judicious were for having business done first, lest quarrelling with him should prevent doing it, and throw them into confusion; for his party is strong as that of the wicked and foolish. The tools of the other are everywhere in this world; but now, as I said before, our interest is unstrung, and we can do very little. Nothing remains that I know of but terms with the Crown, in which, if possible, pray either destroy or humble the Corporation, thy most backward friends in the Government; but of the two, rather the latter, for it will prove more honorable, because after the change they will endeavour to defend the grant, which will still reflect some honesty, and more then to thee, perhaps, than now; for it will then be thy grant disputed with the Queen, when now 'tis against thyself; but they are altogether unworthy. J. Wilcox is Mayor; his father-in-law was last year; his brother that is to be in a few days, viz. E. Shippen, was 1st and 2d, and his brother, A. Morris, 3d; so that it has still been in that family. And by the conjunction of E. S. with that

family they are now very strong, and grow more so every day, as the Government grows weaker . . . . . .

'Tis time now to end mine. At beginning this I expected not the vessel would have allowed me more time than to have wrote a sheet or two; but I have proceeded to a length that I am ashamed of. If it be expected that I should write to thee as to others about common business, &c., know my prolixity is intolerable; but if many write large volumes to instruct only in a science, and others buy and read them, seeing no study comes nearer than our own interests and concerns, I hope my pains in writing will not be ill received. I cannot think it becomes me when I write about thy business to give it by hints and touches, as a superior may to those below him, and therefore I indulge my pen sometimes. I own to excursions and reflections that might be let alone, but when they are wrote, I desire they may be all favourably taken together. Some things in this will not be so fully understood without the last 5 sheets, per Jno. Guy, which I hope will come safe to hand before this arrives, which is intended by New Castle, with a Body of the Laws, as I hinted in my postscript of the other. The letter I design to order by post from thence, but the laws by a good hand, by sea or otherwise. Before I conclude I would observe that if thou canst sell the Susquehanna Lands there for £3 per hundred acres, or even 50*s*., tho' that's much too cheap, it will be as good or better than 5 per cent. here of our subscriptions; but pray remember the Indian Settlements. J. Jeffreys writes a singularly good hand, and I am glad so honest a man is with thee; but being unable I suppose, I read the original from which he wrote; his copy is perfectly unintelligible in what I suppose may be the most important part of account of the mortgage, tho' I understand enough to discover the baseness, but not sufficient to make others conceive the whole, as I would do. Pray be prevailed on to issue that business, or drive it at least toward a period with the utmost endeavour, that thou may once more request, that, as I am thy Secretary, my letters may be to thyself alone, and no part that concerns others be communicated, however near they are related. I have not yet heard anything further of the address mentioned in my other inclosed. I wish

thy proposing Col. Quarry to be of the Council may not prove a snare. It may be both unsafe and disgust thy friends. But now I at length conclude.

Thy most faithful and obedient servant, J. L.

SAMUEL PRESTON TO JONATHAN DICKINSON IN JAMAICA.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, 19*th* 3*d-mo.*, 1706.

Thy sons are well, altho' it was but three days since, that they, with many more of riper age, were greatly distressed with affright'ning apprehensions of approaching danger; they, to secure themselves, took the readiest road, and with some other boys ran to Frankford, where at Samuel Finney's house they took sanctuary, and were well entertained for three or four hours, until we had discovered the whole to be an imposture. It was carried on by John French of New Castle, who is clothed with more titles than I know how to name, but amounting to the Governour's vicegerent or representative there. He, with William Toang, Clerk of that County, comes up on Fifth-day morning, the 16th instant, and reached town about 9 o'clock, and then, with all the symptoms of truth, consternation of countenance, and every gesture agreeable to express the same, made report: — That the enemy were upon us; that this morning about two o'clock, came up six brigantines, and taking no notice of New Castle, where there is a nightly look-out kept, the watch fired two guns, to bring them to; but that immediately, instead of conformity, the brigantines fired not less than forty or fifty great guns on the town, and with a small breeze of wind, it being near high-water, passed upwards — whereupon the said French and Toang posted away to us, to give notice thereof; and, for a further confirmation, produced a letter, said

[1] The alarm which was excited in Philadelphia, of a French invasion, totally without foundation, but designed very unjustifiably by Governor Evans, as a matter of experiment upon the conduct of Friends, seems to have been one of the most prominent events of the year 1706, and is described in the above letter. — L.

to be an express from the Hoarkills, advertising that town to be plundered and burnt. This, thou mayst believe, exceedingly affected us, and begot great disorder and distraction among us; some, as well as the young sons, fled; others got to arms; and some there were who kept to their own houses, without any great fright or discomposure. It being our meeting-day, and although the time and tide that was to bring them up, it did not prevent the meeting, nor did the surprise put many of our Friends into those military companies. Edward Shippen, Ju'r, John Hunt, Benjamin Wright, and two or three others, young men, were all that equip'd themselves with guns, &c. Next day brought a more perfect account of our damages, (many having destroyed valuable effects in attempting to save them, &c.) What was the policy of this stratagem we cannot yet determine, but at present we are full of resentment at so great a piece of indignity, which dare not have been offered without commission. 'Tis too bold a jest, in my sentiment, and so I leave it.[1]

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *28th 3d-mo.*, 1706.

My last large letter was by the Jamaica fleet in 9ber, and before that, by the Virginia fleet, to none of which I have re-

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[1] Another account of the same affair is to be found in a letter from Isaac Norris to Jonathan Dickinson, who, under date of the 3d of 4th-mo., 1706, says:

"On the 16th ult. we had a feigned and contrived alarm, so that it hardly gave people time to think what to do; for two men of note came from New Castle in great haste, affirming the French had burnt the Hoarkills, battered New Castle, and were, it then being a fair wind and tide, to be expected in two hours' time. Not a Friend of any note but behaved as becomes our profession; but I fear it was devilishly designed, and for my own part, I as much apprehended robbery and cutting our throats from some envious and vile fellows among ourselves as the enemy, and 'twas good Providence that the plot was discovered before night. I would not say who was the projector, but would charitably hope the worst that might have happened, and did not, was not premised." — L.

ceived any answer. Since those I wrote again, 9ber the 18th, by Captain Palmer, directly for Plymouth, and 10ber the 12th, several duplicates by way of Barbadoes, &c., informing of the arrival of Brother Ford's power of attorney, but fear the loss of the pacquet-boat, cast away in the Gulf, has occasioned them to miscarry. I wrote again by Barbadoes, 29th 11th-month, which I doubt had the same fate, and since that, in the 2d month, a very short letter by the same way. We expected the Virginia fleet would have sailed long ere this, but now the time is uncertain. I send, in the meantime, to hint what is most necessary, but shall refer to Friend Morris, who designs over himself with the fleet, for fuller notice of our affairs.

The Assembly rising the 2d of the 11th-month, after they had past about 50 laws, sat again the 18th of the 12th-month; but did no more than make a few orders for regulating their own matters. I was absent at the time in the two lower counties, settling business there, after William Clark's death, where I found things left in too great confusion. Sussex is very deeply in arrears, but what they paid was to good hands; but in Kent they have paid much, but great part of it into such bad hands that it has been lost, which severely taxes the negligence of those at the head. The inhabitants are poorer than ever they have been since the country was thine, yet they are generally all willing to pay, except those to the southward of Lewes, who absolutely refuse till the line is run, alleging that, according to the order of Council, they in all probability will fall into Maryland, and therefore, that 'till they more certainly know their landlord, they are in danger of paying in their own wrong. In the first month I returned to Philadelphia, and made what progress I could about quit-rents in all the three counties, and in some little time hope to be able to bring them into a very good order.

You will doubtless have heard, before this can arrive, of the powerful fleet the French have in the West Indies, and the damages they have done. We have heard yet only of the utter ruin of St. Christopher and Nevis; but De Casse having, as 'tis said, joined that fleet that did the mischief with 15 sail more of great ships of war, which makes their number now 27 great ships,

besides all their privateers and small craft, 'tis reasonably apprehended that much more must follow. This has generally alarmed all the English dominions in America, and put almost an entire stop to all manner of trade and intercourse with them, which reduces us into a miserable condition. The Continent here is generally very much alarmed, N. York especially being informed from St. Thomas, a Danish national port, that De Breville, the commander of the squadron that took Nevis, being the same who, coming to N. York 5 years ago, in a French man-of-war from *Methasippi*, to wood and water, took an opportunity in the night to sound their whole harbour, designs this summer to visit them, and therefore they are fortifying with the utmost application. Our Lieutenant-Governour, upon this, thought himself also obliged to do all in his power; and having gained credit to an account, he caused to be brought, that there was a fleet upon the coasts, he published a proclamation requiring all persons without fail to furnish themselves with arms and ammunition, and caused regular guards to be kept by the militia for a night or two, after which, on the 16th instant, in the morning, being the first day of our fair, an alarm was brought by the Sheriff and Clerk of Newcastle, that 6 French vessels were in the river, and 4 of them had actually past that place; upon which, the said officers had hastened up to give notice to this town. The Governour immediately spread and inforced the report, acting as vigorously as if the matter had been real, and pressing all that would bear arms to Society Hill,[1] where there appeared about 300, but the whole town and great part of the country was in the deepest confusion. Neither I nor any other person here, I believe, were privy to the design besides the Governour, but soon coming to the knowledge of it, I thought the fittest part for me to take was to endeavour to allay it as soon as possible, and accordingly I hastened a little way down the river with a light boat and 4 oars, and fortunately meeting a

[1] [At Front and Pine streets, Philadelphia, an elevation which is very conspicuous as you look towards the south, from say Front and Chestnut streets. It derived its name from the circumstance that the *Free Society of Traders* owned nearly all the land in the immediate vicinity. It was a favorite place for public meetings. — EDITOR.]

shallop, returned with an account that there was no such thing, and so undeceived the people, who were in as miserable a consternation and confusion as if an enemy had really been in the midst of them. This has left such an impression in the minds of great numbers, of Friends especially, that it will not be easily got over, but what is like to follow will, I doubt, make them much more uneasy. Some days after this, the members of Council who are not Friends waited on the Governour, and represented to him that the late alarm made it evidently appear how naked and defenceless the place would be found in case of a real attack by an enemy, and therefore it was absolutely necessary that some provision should be made, by a law to establish a militia, and oblige all persons that can fight to serve, and that money should be raised by the publick to build a fort, &c. That in order to this, the Assembly should be forthwith called, as in the neighbouring governments, to find some way to effect it. That in case they failed, all in the Government that are not Quakers would think themselves obliged to address the Queen to take some order about it in England. That they well knew the Quakers would not fight themselves, nor did they desire it of them; only that all others that can fight should be compelled to it, and that all persons should contribute to the public charge. Upon which address, the Governour, meeting with Thomas Grey, who is under me in my office, ordered him forthwith to draw out writts or præcipes to the Sheriff, to summon the members to town. This was done abroad at a publick house, but when I had notice of it, and an opportunity, I laid the consequences before the Governour, of which he seemed at that time to be made sensible, and next day I further urged that the matter should be first laid before the whole Council. Accordingly a Council was called, but being thin, and the Governour being obliged to go to-day to N. Castle, to view the militia there, it was concluded to adjourn the business till his return, that a full Council might be held upon it, viz., to consider whether an Assembly should be called or not, upon which the Governour resolved to return again with all possible expedition, to hold such a Council, and which way 'tis like to be carried these steps too fully demonstrate, as the

whole business largely shows what the consequences must necessarily be. Those members who advise to this, several of them at least, are not apprehensive, I believe, that it will be much to thy injury, only think it indispensably incumbent upon them to take this care for their own preservation, and the Governour, I believe, really thinks he is discharging his duty in it, so that how we shall be able to stave it off, is what I cannot yet see, but unless thou canst fully settle all matters with the Crown before such an address comes, it must needs be unhappy. The Assembly neither will nor can do anything, and the address of persons that only desire to be better enabled to defend themselves, and preserve a colony in the heart of the Queen's dominions here from falling into her enemy's hands, and this without any charge to the Crown, will doubtless be readily heard, after a summer, too, that I doubt will prove so very fatal to these Dominions. Upon all which, I assure thee, all that lies in my power at present is this: to represent the matter to thee, and give thee notice beforehand; if I can do anything more as matters advance, I shall use all the address I am capable of, but the difficulty is that the Governour of late has been inclinable to change his former measures, and rely upon his own strength. I can say no more. But Friends look upon themselves to be in as ill circumstances as if thy bitterest enemies here had obtained all their desires, and are ready to think there is like to be no difference as to the treatment they are to meet with between thy friends and foes. The country has raised money and given the last stroke to perfect a government, and now in so dangerous a time of war he must show himself active some way or other, which makes him and them of very different sentiments. So that, upon the whole, the entire body seems disgusted, and are piqued to the heart at the contrivance of that alarm, which they think served only to expose them to their enemies here, from whom they were apprehensive of as much mischief, had the confusion continued, as from the French themselves; but if they look on the Governour as their enemy, I think they really wrong him.

But I shall leave this, and must lay before thee another particular that much troubles me, and I shall greatly want to be

directed in it, which is this: After Mr. William had been here a few months, lodging at Friend Norris's, we became so troublesome to his numerous family, that we were obliged to remove, and, as I have largely wrote before, to take a house. The Lieutenant-Governour first took lodging at Al. Paxson's, where his wife's condition, being soon ready to lie in, rendering his stay improper, he removed to John Finney's, whose wife being also in a little time in the same condition, he was obliged to look out again, but finding no place, and I, considering that we were already at the charge of housekeeping, and that wherever he went, till money were otherwise raised, I must answer it on thy account, which would still make it deeper and much heavier to me, concluded therefore to invite him to the same house, as it was in general thought most proper; upon which, to give way to him, I turned up into the garret. Thy son departing in a few months after, we were left to keep house by ourselves. When we first entered on it, I told Mr. William I could bear no other part of it than to pay as a boarder; that at Friend Norris I paid £30 per annum, and at another place £20 for a servant; that here I would allow £60 per annum, but could no more, which was then thought very reasonable. Thy son, as I said, being gone, we could not pretend to break up. The Governour would want accommodation as much as ever, and it must be found him by me, till by some other means money could be raised, and so to this time we have continued.

The Assembly of the Province hath granted thee £800, as thou wilt see by the laws, payable to the Lieutenant-Governour for support of Government, besides half of an Impost for three years; the Lower Counties have given him a penny in the pound, which makes about £200 more, part of this being raised, and the Treasurer having money in his hands. Last night I told the Governour that I had now for so long a time answered all the charges of housekeeping, but that money being scarce, I was much dunn'd, that it would be very proper now to give me an order to the Treasurer to pay off and reimburse past charges; but, much contrary to expectation, he seem'd not to understand what I meant by the demand, but told me he was to have a salary of £200 sterling per annum of thee, till such time as the

country should raise a support; that I had not paid him this, and that it ought at least to go for the charges. I told him I understood it that the Proprietor was to make up to him £200 per annum, in case what he might receive fell short; that this £200 was now by the Assembly fully made up, and therefore whatever I advanced on thy account till such times as other provision could be made, ought to be refunded, for thou was obliged to no more than to make good such a sum, as I understood it, and not to pay him such a certain salary, and that all perquisites and profits ought to be brought into the account. This startled him again, for none could think it reasonable, he thought, that he should account for money received for licenses, registers, &c. We differed widely in our sentiments upon the whole. I insisted on it that every farthing I had expended or advanced for him should be repaid me out of the publick money now raised, and that he ought to give me an order for it; that whatever he received above the £200 a year I should not think myself concerned in the account of it, but would leave that to thee; if the country allowed more, it was reasonable he should have it, for certainly nothing less than £500 his money yearly will give a Governour a competent subsistence, only there was no reason the Proprietor and country should both pay. He said he did not desire it; when the country paid he would rely upon it, but that thou was obliged to pay till the country did; and as for reimbursing, he could not understand it. Our housekeeping for these two years past has stood in above £600; when thy son was here it was highest, but that was not quite five months of the time; but the Governour has been 22 months, and the charge chiefly on his account, for I should never have kept it myself, having lived much easier before, nor indeed could I afford it. But of this, besides £60 per annum allowed by me, and £20 more for Jacob Taylor, in the Surveyor's office, there ought to be some further allowance made by thee on account of thy publick affairs transacted in the house. Upon the whole, I desire thy full and positive order, and be very plain to the Lieutenant-Governour himself about it, as well as to me. He is very diligent about getting the money in, but the arrears of thy £2,000 lie still most scandalously behind, notwithstanding the

strict law past for collecting them; nor can I make it otherwise. I can neither put in nor turn out an officer, and I assure thee thy interest is very little regarded. There are few that think it any sin to haul what they can from thee, yet there are still some truly honest officers, but none look upon it as their business, and therefore 'tis all thrown upon me. While the world stands, thy interest is like to be unworthily served here — every man is for himself, and so in thy case thou wilt find it. As for my own part, my spirits are often ready to fail me. Public calumnies, mal-administration among us, no success in thy affairs but disappointments from all quarters, and none to assist, often give thoughts too heavy to bear up against — deprives me of that vigour that thy business requires. This from the Governour exceedingly troubles me. I depended on £300 from him at least, besides £112 I advanced for him in money to supply his necessities the first six months after his arrival, and thou seest what I am likely to get. I shall endeavour to prevail on him to do something more reasonable, but after what is past, and knowing how very loath he is to part with anything of the kind, I have very little hopes. Pray consider the matter fully, and be pleased to write expressly about it. In my judgment, £20 sterling a year, if the country will grant no more, is not sufficient, but I doubt they are so disgusted they will hold their hands till what is done be pretty well drained. The first occasion of dislike that he more reasonably took was from his imprisoning that foolish old man, Wm. Biles, upon a judgment obtained, formerly mentioned, for £300 damages; after that, upon an application from the Assembly, who, in pity to his years and circumstances, had interceded for him, he had given them an expectation that he would not injure him, but when he had lain a month in gaol, and all solicitations were thought to be utterly vain, he very handsomely released him.

Judge Mompesson has accepted the Commission to be Chief-Justice, and for last Provincial Court I have paid him £20, and about £10 more for what thou calls his viaticum, or expenses, in thy letter to him.

We have scarce any trade this year at all. Our crops failed as last harvest, so that many are likely to want bread before the

next, and we have not had any vessels from the West Indies, but a small one from Antigua, and but one gone all this season thither, perhaps into our enemies' hands. . . . . In short, if the West Indies fall, as we much fear it, we are ruined, whether an enemy come hither or not.

If it be not already, as I hope it is, I earnestly desire my long letter of the 6th-month last, by the Virginia fleet, may be closely considered. There is a rumour here, spread by some lately arrived in Maryland, that Colonel Nicholson is coming over to the Government of New York, and thy son to another neighbouring one, but we can credit nothing. I design by the Virginia fleet to be larger.

James Logan to William Penn.

[*Extract.*] Philadelphia, 12*th* 4*th-mo.*, 1706.

To the foregoing, sent by way of Jamaica, I shall, with some more plainness, add here, that we have since had a Council to consult about calling an Assembly. All who are not Friends pressed it hard, alleging that the Governour would be inexcusable, unless after the example of other Governours he should use his endeavours and propose it[1] to the Assembly, that if they refused it ought to lay at their door. Friends, knowing that nothing could be expected of the Assembly when called, and that their refusal would only serve to give the opposites a handle to complain of the Constitution, endeavoured to stave it off. The Governour found himself at a great pinch, but concluded at length that he was under a necessity of calling them together; it was done, and they met the 24th ult., to nó purpose to be sure, for they could do nothing. But driving it off so late, they will plead the necessity of returning home immediately to their harvest, and desire the consideration of the matter may be deferred till the 6th-month, before which time the fleet will certainly sail, and the addressors will lose this opportunity, and time be given thee to provide for it.

[1] A Militia Law; also to raise money to advance to the Crown for defence. — L.

I shall endeavour to do whatever is in my power; but an address, I believe, is to be depended on. I much fear, also, that the Assembly, tho' picked and chosen out of the best men we have, will not restrain themselves from expressing freely the sentiments and present temper of the Country, which is highly disaffected, and I doubt irretrievably so. Our former Assembly were carried away with an extravagant humour of asserting privileges beyond their due bounds, and refused to discharge what was incumbent on their sides. The Country themselves resented this, and chose such a one as would do business, and the expectations were answered on that point. But, since their rising, there has such a general disaffection entered, that I know not, as things stand, how it can be removed; for it is not only among the formerly disaffected, but all manner of persons. The first disgust was the business of William Biles, in which I shall here be more particular. He had used many words against the Governour that were actionable, as: "He is but a boy. He is not fit to govern us. We'll kick him out," meaning the Governour. As he undoubtedly held such language, it was informed of at the Council Board, and thought convenient that notice should be taken of it. The Governour, however, without communicating it, brought an action not long after for £2,000 damages.[1] The defendant refusing to plead, an interlocutory judgment was given against him, and upon the credit of a jury of enquiry £300 damages were found, for which judgment past. Thus far most approved of the proceedings. The Yearly Meeting sent for him to town, and condemned him for it, and some intercession was made in his behalf, that, as he had been brought to own his fault, and was humbled by it, and that malevolent party in a

[1] [This is explained at page 33 *ante*, where an action was brought for words which never would have been regarded as other than harmless, had it not been for the political excitement which prevailed, and the willingness of a very subservient jury to do Evans a pleasure. The plain import of the words was, that Evans was a boy, and deserved to be turned out; the correctness of which was shown in the fact that suit was brought in a spirit of boyish petulance, and with the hope that some money might be made out of it. His course, as shown in this letter, fully establishes the truth of Biles' statement, and much more — that Evans wanted sense, honor, and integrity, and was false, treacherous, and entirely unfit for any public position whatever. — EDITOR.]

great measure suppressed, it would be generous in the Governour to forgive him all. It might have been politic to have kept the rod over him, but I still was of opinion no money was to be expected, more than Court charges. The Govr. gave those who discoursed him upon it reason to think he thought the same. The Assembly in ye 12th-mo., all things very amicably composed, interceded for him, "as being an ancient settler, that had borne offices," &c. The messengers from the House were Edward Shippen, Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, and Isaac Norris. These the Governour assured that he never designed to injure W. Biles, and gave them his word, if ever he found cause to give him any further trouble, he would first acquaint them therewith. Edward Shippen soon after going to Bucks gave William these assurances, upon which and several others, he concluded he might safely venture to town. Accordingly, in the first month, he came and met the Governour in a public room, shook hands, and all seemed well. Yet the Govr. went out very cloudy, goes to Robt. Ashton's, and there causes a writ to be drawn, which he soon gets signed, sends for the Sheriff, and at the same time writes to the before-mentioned persons what he was about, but took care the Sheriff should have his prisoner fast before the letter was delivered (which was the method he took to give notice). The Sheriff carried him first to a public house. These members of Assembly, upon receipt of the letter, all hurried away, and were applying to the Governour with a great concern in the street, when I accidentally coming along, had the first notice of it. When they were gone, and had found all that they could say to be in vain, I pleaded with him at a private house for nearly an hour, with as much earnestness as I could use in any cause, telling him that I appeared in it not as William Biles' friend, but thine and the Government's, which would greatly suffer by such dishonourable proceedings, but found all that I said was in vain; he was fixed and immovable; upon which I told him, with some vehemence, that he would find he had stabbed his own interest in the people's affections, and thine also, to the heart. I laboured all I could to put others on to speak to him, and prevailed on the Sheriff to keep his prisoner at the same public house till I fully saw all intercession was in vain, and then he was com-

mitted. Divers Friends, as Richard Hill, Samuel Carpenter, and others, were equally concerned, and our good women took very good care of William in prison. When I came home, instead of going to bed, I wrote a remonstrative letter to the Governour, very close and full, and in the morning delivered it into his own hands, being obliged to go down to the County of Chester on a public appointment. Many were the solicitations used, some in favour of the old man, and still more in respect to the Government, but all to no purpose. He appeared resolved that nothing but the payment of the money should clear him. At length I told him I was about writing to thee, and desired fully to know of him what I might say on that head, and after using the most pressing and cogent arguments I was master of to dissuade him from such a course, above all, an assurance that he could never expect one farthing of the money, nor any more from the Country, at that rate, with whatever else that I could think of proper for the occasion, for about an hour together. The next morning, being about to go down to New Castle with the Judges, he went to the prison and invited William to ride out with them as far as the ferry. But first, the preceding afternoon he had set Rich'd Hill on, causing him to send a fresh petition, which gave a handsome turn to the matter, and it was carried off very clean. But those who scanned more nearly what had passed, could scarce put up their resentments. William a close prisoner for about a month, and doubtless had there been any hopes of the money so he might have continued, for as he moved in it entirely of himself, so he stood impregnable to all attacks that could be made, till he evidently saw he could never get anything by it, but lost his own interest with the Country and his Friends. 'Twas this, however, that first caused people to look about them. But however this ended, the disgust at one time was high, and what followed in causing the alarm completed it; upon which he seems to have been very intent in his thoughts, as appears now from the steps he took, and it is strange he could not foresee the many ill consequences that needs must ensue upon it. But that was a length, it seems, he never extended his thoughts to. To bring it about he first framed a letter as from Colonel Seymour,[1] *counterfeiting his hand to it*, and sent it to the

[1] Governour of Maryland. — L.

Sheriff of New Castle, with orders to send it hither in great haste by an express, informing of a French fleet upon the coast, and the next day seconded this with another report from Burlington, said to come from East Jersey, to the same purpose. But before this I should have informed thee, that being that day to dine two miles out of town, at Captain Roches, on Schuylkill, he left word with Thomas Grey, that if any letter was brought to town directed to him from New Castle, it should be dispatched to him immediately, which, when it appeared what the express was, gave me the first suspicion that it was a sham, and so I suspiciously told him, but he denied it positively. This order was obeyed, and hurrying to town with the numbers who were there, he caused a Council immediately to be called, and with all due formality caused the letter to be read, and the matter considered. The result of all was that a Proclamation should be forthwith issued, requiring all persons to furnish themselves with arms and ammunition; and for two nights the militia kept regular guard of about 40 men each night, which might have been well enough — the counterfeit letter excepted. The Sheriff of New Castle had orders the night before the alarm here to raise out theirs through the whole County, and then come in all haste to give it here, which the unhappy man, being a diligent and obedient officer, was obliged with reluctancy to do. Another letter was also framed, as sent from the Sheriff of Sussex to New Castle, informing that Lewes was burnt, all which being in pursuance of what was first concerted here, shews the thought long but not deep, unless purposely designed for the mischievous effects it is likely to have, which I yet cannot believe. Nor was there one person in the world made privy to a syllable of all this, besides those who were to act a part in it, as far as I can understand. He himself, in the time of the alarm, rode about the town with his sword drawn, forcing all, that could be induced to arm, to Society Hill. Powder was dealt out among the people to the loss of several apprentices, now so many scores of pounds in value. The people threw their goods into wells and all manner of holes, greatly to their damage. Women were taken ill, and the distress very great. Friends were generally the quietest, yet many of them fled, but were miserably insulted and menaced by

those that bore arms. Our Fair, which has become a general time for payments, was utterly discomposed, and many private damages will be long remembered. The militia, which gave us some reputation before, has never mustered since the 10th of Jan'y, and then but in part; and 'tis believed it will be utterly in vain to call them out, they are so disgusted with being so miserably imposed upon. In short, the whole is looked on to be a most mischievous boyish trick, and has given many hearty well-wishers to the Government occasion to remember Wm. Biles' words with much more charity. But it is unaccountable that he should thus venture hardily of himself, without consulting or communicating it to any person in the least fit to advise him. This instance of the alarm, and the business of William Biles, are specimens of his private way of management, and the latter is evidently convincing how much he can be proof against all counsel and persuasion; and truly my opinion is now he has more fully shewn himself, since the rising of the last Assembly, that he can scarce suffer anything to come between him and his interest, a short-sighted one it is true, for I mean positively money. I have wrote more than once in his behalf—encouraged by the sense he seemed to have of honour—but then the other *ardor habendi* had nothing to work upon; but since it has found some subject, from the Assembly's grant, I doubt it will overrule all other sentiments whatever.

I wish, if the next Assembly prove such as we have formerly had, as I fear they will, we may be secure from having any Act passed injurious to thy interest, and hope there may not be occasion for this suspicion; but as I find, by the help of his education, he has had the art to conceal himself in some points, so wherever avarice so strongly gets root I suspect the soil. 'Tis always pernicious, but most in public affairs. I shall endeavour to carry it fair with him, but shall be under great disadvantage, tho' I would have him always in view; but the difficulty is, that when the nearest to him, he is so hidden that he closes himself like what is said of the Cuttle-fish, with his own inbred darkness, and escapes the sight. And an instance is, that upon my telling him, only the first time, of contributing his share, which is by far the greatest, to the charges of housekeeping, he broke off at

once; never eat here more, but without any consideration of my circumstances, leaves me alone to a great house[1] to myself, which, to be sure, must be kept 3 months longer for want of giving warning. 'Tis certainly particularly hard that I should be thus exposed to stand to every shock, and my thoughts are so oppressed I can scarce bear them up to a level with my business; and thy lot seems as particularly unfortunate, which, lest should the troubles made by adversaries not be enough, has also contributions to them made by those in whom the greatest trust is reposed. He goes from hence to lodge at an old loghouse, near T. Fairman's, where Nelson formerly lived, where he will be mostly, if not always, out of the way; and when in town, 'tis but seldom I can make the company he keeps mine, tho' of late I must own he is not much thronged. He has complained, or his cousin for him, that he is £500 the worse for coming over, besides all he has received, to make good which I suppose he reckons the Lord Dartmouth's bond to his father, when Treasurer for the party, of which he made the said Lord a compliment, and withdrew his suit to facilitate the Royal approbation with Nottingham's party. Pray take full care in ordering the matter about his salary for the time past, and his expenses, for of myself I cannot do it. The arrears of thy £2,000 in this County was laid aside, to give way to the new one, and when I urge it to the Sheriff the answer is, that to endeavour to get that with the other, would lose both; and yet the very plea used for turning out B. Wright, who was last chosen by the County, was his refusal to collect those arrears. . . . . .

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, 25*th* 5*th-mo.*, 1706.

HONOURED GOVERNOUR: — Last night I received two pacquets by Boston, one from J. Jeffries, inclosing the order of Council about the laws, the other containing duplicates or copies of four several letters, three of which, being the first I have received of

[1] Clarke's House, S.W. corner of Chestnut and Third streets. — L.

them, for Col. Quarry is not yet arrived, I shall take notice of here, as far as the shortness of my time will allow me, but must first observe that the letter mentioned to be sent to friends, inclosed in the same pacquet and left open for my perusal, is not there, but perhaps it comes by Col. Quarry. So D. L.'s letter to W. M., &c., in the name of the Assembly, was mentioned in thine, per C. Dunster, as inclosed, but it never came, either that or any other way, which proved a great loss to us.

Two things in thine I shall now take the opportunity to speak particularly of, viz., the trouble at my inconsistency with myself in my advice as to parting with the Government, and my unreasonable desires in behalf of the Lieutenant-Governour.

To the first I have examined the copies of most of my last year's letters, and find that in my large one of 22d 6th-month last, after a large discussion of the matter, I concluded my opinion that 'tis by all means most advisable to surrender at least the Government, &c., for a valuable consideration, if to be obtained, for that should be the chief inducement, &c. And I think the whole strain of that letter runs entirely that way, and the motives that led me to advise to this were because I could by no means see any other probable method of clearing thy debts, which I take to be the first great thing thou art to labour. In my next, of the 24th of 8th-month, I told thee the Assembly resolved to do all in their power for thine and the countrie's good, and would endeavour to put things in the best condition for a surrender if thou must be obliged to it, tho' *they desire* the contrary, which last expression I suppose it is that thou takes particular notice of.

As it has alwayes been my opinion that nothing concerned thee more than to find a method to discharge thy incumbrances, and it has generally, I believe I may say always, been my thoughts that it is not worth thy while to undergo the fatigue the Government gives for all the advantages 'tis attended with, so by compounding these two opinions, I am sure it never entered me but that it was altogether advisable to sell the Government at least, though in that letter I told thee the Assembly rather desire thou should keep it, and 'tis certainly true that were I firmly settled in this place, and had nothing but my own

interest to regard, I would rather that thou should keep the Government, and let me still be Secretary, or in some other better post; and thus thinks the Assembly. No wonder if they, wholly made up of Friends, would not rather enjoy places of trust and credit, and live easily under thy administration, than run the risque of hazarding such enjoyments by a change, the effects of all changes in State affairs being uncertain, and they, being the representatives of the people, think for them and themselves in this point, not for thee. I never sent one of their sentiments, as is related to thee or thy concerns; I only said what might certainly be known before, that they desire not to see a change. Nay, very few of thy greatest enemies desire to see it, for they well know they live easier now than they can hereafter. But what is this to the discharging of thy burthens? I have largely shewn that I can see no other way to make thee easy than to sell, and when I write so, I do it purely in regard to thy circumstances, and no bodie's else, my own as little as any man's. In my next of the 6th-month, I added that I had no reason to recede in my opinions from what I then wrote, nor can I find that I have said one syllable differing from this anywhere, unless I dropt something (which I do not believe) in that short one of the next day, viz., of 9br the 9th, which thou mentions relating to the Governour, and of which I kept no copy. I have indeed, at some times, said that if thou could make thyself easy upon other scores, the Government might perhaps as well be kept as parted with, which was wrote at such times as things promised best, but I am sure that of clearing off has alwayes with me preponderated all other considerations, and thou wilt never find a syllable interfering with that. But if there should be such a thing, as I am confident there is not, can that come in competition with solid arguments, a case stated and brought to the balance, with the weight of each scale calculated and compared. This I endeavoured in a slender measure to perform, after which I should think that no man's opinion ought to weigh much as to determining thy thoughts, unless it be to discover an error in the computation, and that if, after this, I should ever so much alter my advice, it would be of no importance, unless I, at the same time, demonstrated the

nature of the thing to be otherwise than was at first laid down. Reasoning seems to me to be the art of comparing things rightly, and judgment to consist in the skill of preferring the most valuable. And I am so great an admirer of Algebra, which is wholly employed in discovering equations, that I take it to be the best rule to be transferred to the conduct of life. So that I think I have said full enough upon this head, and thou may assure thyself I neither have, nor ever can change my opinion that thy debts must be discharged, and that the only way that I can see for it is to obtain a consideration from the Crown for the Government, and that if thou canst receive such a sum as has been mentioned, thou wilt receive a thing of great value for an other of a very small one, which is accounted good marketting. On the other hand, if thou didst not want money, or could have it an other way, without damage to thyself, as I believe thou canst not, I look upon thy holding or parting with the Government to be a thing almost *in æquilibrio*, but rather, as thou now stands in favour, to preponderate on the side of holding it, and some times I am more of this opinion, some times less, according as the scale is made lighter or heavier by our circumstances and administration; and if my sentiments in that case seem to vary, 'tis no more to be admired than that the same person here in winter can scarce get clothes thick enough, or in summer thin enough, or that the sailor crowds sail sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, 'tis owing to no inconstancy in the person, but to causes out of his power, to which he must accommodate.

I write not this so much to justify myself, as to state the matter more clearly, and to give a true line to all that I have wrote on that head, in which I was always more plain, because of the necessity there seems to be in it, than I had a full freedom in myself to appear. I thought if I stated the case, and furnished the materials to judge by, it would be both better manners and more prudent to stop there than to proceed to advise, as those historians are often most approved of that barely relate the matter with all the circumstances that can furnish out a judgment and then leave that to the readers themselves. But I was commanded to give my opinion, and therefore did it; yet

would rather choose to see the Government sold, tho' I desire to see it done for thy interest, but against both my own and that of many friends, upon any other person's advice than mine. 'Tis a point I am loath to advise in, as I would be in a case of marriage, but I have done it, and I think steadily. As for considering others here, 'tis in vain. The three ablest that I know of my acquaintance are S. Carpenter, I. Norris, and Richard Hill and his wife for one. The first says 'tis a pity, but if thou holds it thou'lt be ruined; the second is wholly a trader, and will not advise in the matter; he thinks as I do, that 'tis best for him thou shouldst hold it, but for thee to part with it; the last heartily wishes any other means could be found to discharge thy incumbrances; but if there be a necessity, as I think that point is fully proved, all good people must acquiesce. What I said for thy parting with thy property also, had relation to thy younger children, whose interest it would doubtless prove, but as that seems to me impracticable, as things now stand, thy next best method would doubtless be, to come hither and settle; that is, as to thyself, but I question whether it would prove so for thy children, after age has struck the last of time to thee, and summoned thee to part from them. Upon the whole, these several distinct considerations ought to be fully compared one with the other, and that which is found of the greatest weight to be adhered to. I think they all stand in full view, and scarce need any further light to manage them. For my part, I take myself to be so far from being uncertain in my advices, that I much rather blame myself for taking so much upon me in matters of such importance; but my excuse to myself is, that 'tis required of me.

The next point is the Governour's allowance. I am heartily troubled. I kept not a copy of that letter, for of all my letters there is not one I should be now more desirous to see. However, I think I can pretty well remember the tenour of it being, I presume, consonant to the course of my thoughts in general on that head, and then I say that I must still think that £200 of this money is too slender an allowance for a Governour of this place; that is, in case he were to have nothing more of any kind, and were to account for all his perquisites; and still believe, that

unless a Governour can by one means or other make £600, or near it, 'tis not worth his while, and that out of all manner of profits £200 sterling, which according to the common reckoning I accounted £900 of this money, was little enough; and I believe I mentioned something of perquisites, but if I did, I never understood that they should belong to him above his salary. I was of opinion that thou designed he should be accountable for every farthing he received, and that thou was only to make up what that fell short £200, which I thought should be sterling, and he says it was agreed it should be such; and that if the country raised enough, or if by any other means he should receive so much out of the Government, thou ought not to advance a farthing, whether by license money, fines, or in any other method. But of these there are few, the Corporation taking to themselves all those of the City, and in the Country there are but very few, and these not at all collected. I must be of opinion 'tis the Governour's immediate business to see they are duly collected, seeing 'tis all done by the Officers of the Government, who are more immediately under him, and have but a secondary relation to me. But there has been very little care taken of them, or anything of the kind. I dare not been wanting to speak, but our officers are very careless.[1] . . . . .

James Logan to William Penn.

Pennsylvania, 27*th* 5*th-mo.*, 1706.

Hon'd Governour: — Together with this comes the body of laws past last Assembly. This exemplification, in case the other comes safe by I. Norris, in the fleet, may serve for thy own use; the other is done in a finer hand, and thicker but much coarser paper, but scarce looks better than these, not being altogether so regular.

I cannot answer for any of these laws, either in their titles or otherwise. Perhaps thou wouldst not have desired the Lieut.-Gov'r's name to be mentioned at all in them, but since there is

[1] [The rest of the original is wanting.—Editor.]

no addition to his name but that he is Lieutenant to thee, and all thy title is added, it was thought both the directest and most proper method by the Assembly in all respects.

There is one short clause in the second sheet of the law for acknowledging and recording of deeds, which, if it pass, the royal assent may be of great service for securing all our grants against any objections that can be made by reason of that mortgage to Ford.

How they may please I know not, but I am of opinion they will be found to be the best done of any that have of late been in the Government. There are many excellent laboured laws, which, it must be owned, are chiefly owing to David Lloyd. Were it not for that man's baseness, and vindictive spirit against thee, he might have been exceedingly useful; but I doubt he is irreconcilable to thy interest. That for thy quit-rents, the best I could possibly obtain, I hope will not displease. I am, as ever,

Thy most obedient servant, J. L.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *6th-mo.*, *10th-day*, 1706.

Hon'd Governour: — Besides this comes enclosed three other letters, the first one triplicated of the 3d-mo. last, the original sent by Jamaica, and again by John Guy to the west of England; the second, called a postscript, intended for such to the others, sent also by John Guy, 4th-mo. last, but in this duplicated I have cut off the two last sheets, which I request thee to do in the original, if it be come to hand, for I expatiated there too far. The third was intended by a vessel that designed to run without the fleet, but the men-of-war being arrived before she left the river, changes his course, so that now I send the original with this. I have just now been perusing what I have wrote in these before I set about writing more, and find myself under no small perplexity about it; the severe conflicts my thoughts have of late met with in thy business, have frequently thrown them on the fret to a degree that they must show themselves in

some respects as they are, which however, if it be possible to obtain thy excuse for the manner and the freedom used in some points, can be of no disadvantage to thee to be acquainted with them. They are such as the various circumstances of affairs naturally produce, and if disturbed and uneasy, they always had their at least adequate causes. 'Tis thy business, and my earnest concern for it, that occasions them, and tho' upon perusing them I am troubled to think there should be cause to write so, yet upon the whole, I find none to retract anything I have wrote. 'Tis all very plain, some perhaps almost rude, but all very honest, and the effects of faithful zeal; and I hope it will be taken so. But at the same time I am making an apology: I request that it may not abate of the service I intended by my writing so, nor take off any part of the notice that I believe the subjects require. I am not yet so inconsiderately hardy as to adventure expressing myself with the freedom sometimes used, were it not in hopes of producing some good effects that the necessity of thy affairs seems to call for. Therefore, I most earnestly beg and beseech thee, for thy own interest and future ease, to have regard to what I write, and make a suitable use of so plain and faithful a monitor, considering only how just and true it is, and not how over-civil and mannerly, as some would account it, the wrong way.

This being intended by Isaac Norris, I shall be brief upon many heads, especially the publick, because he will be very capable of giving thee fuller light by discourse, if thou canst engage him into a humour of it, but he is of himself cautious and reserved upon such heads, and therefore must be brought to it by proper methods; the readiest of which I conceive to be to waive all expatiating upon generals relating to the Province, as what it has cost thee, the people's unkindness, &c., but showing a great deal of confidence in him, and satisfaction in meeting so able a friend; then descend into particulars, for he is a man of business, and for some time lead him on upon the subject of my letters till he be insensibly engaged by the closeness of the discourse to him, and then I suppose he will be open and free. But he is not to have formal questions put to him; his recourse will then be immediately to his modesty, he will plead inability

or any thing, and this thro' no want of good-will, but real diffidence of himself. 'Tis certain I value Isaac's judgment far above any man's in this Government, except Samuel Carpenter, who is doubtless in himself one of the most excellent of men, yet he will not believe himself but that, if he has good thoughts at any time, they are present irradiations rather than a general good way of thinking. I am sensible he is, like all other men, often indisposed that way, but I never could have his thoughts yet, but I took them to be very good. Be very kind to that lovely-tempered woman, his wife, and their sweet girl,[1] and with a confidence in him, but still remembering he is not of thy family, but one of the people of Pennsylvania, whose interest and family being in it, the welfare of that must be nearest. I doubt not but thou wilt find him exceedingly serviceable. I am the larger upon this because I know him perhaps the best of any man in the Province, as far as I am capable of judging at all, and love him accordingly. If he has faults, as all men have, they will be entirely out of thy way there to be acquainted with them, so that thou wilt have nothing but the most valuable to deal with. I wish he may be free enough — in that will lie great part of his service. I would willingly leave all relating to the Lieut.-Governour and Government to him, but he has been so little of a temper to employ his good sense that way, that I fear he will be backward. I shall therefore say in brief to the first, that upon his arrival, finding himself wholly unacquainted, he gave himself up to be led by the Council, and would seem cheerfully willing to act that part that was put upon him, which was little more than what just required the person of the Governour, most of the rest being taken care of otherwise. But when the Assembly once gave money, he began to look upon himself in a different manner. He had so small a prospect of getting money before that time, that he never looked on it to be worth his thoughts, but was penuriously saving of what he did receive, which was taken well enough, and the Country only blamed for not enabling him to appear otherwise. But after the Assembly once made that grant, matters quickly altered, he became above his former methods, and money, like a mistress coming in view,

[1] His eldest daughter, afterwards the wife of Thomas Griffiths, Esq.—L.

expanded its charms, which before, and at a distance and unthought of, made a less impression, and now he seems perfectly enamoured — 'tis possible I may wrong him in this, but I think I do not. How the militia was knocked in the head I mentioned before, and now it seems past all hopes of being raised again under him. His plea doubtless will be that it was but precarious before, and could not be of any great service if to be tried, but 'tis certain nothing was a greater support to the credit of the Government than that, nor did anything more fret our opposites of the Church party, who well knew the consequence of it, but now they are eased of that pain. This I am the more particular in, because neither thyself nor Isaac will be ready, I suppose, to enter upon the subject to one another. Our Friends looked upon the whole as a thing much out of the way, considering them, but it was of real service, notwithstanding, to the present administration, for which reason alone I take a view of it thus, but never did otherwise.

To sum up the whole relating to him, I would give thee some part of his character, as from late proceedings I have reason to judge of him. Whether I wrong him or not, in any point, I can't be positive, but I would not willingly, having no manner of provocation to write anything to this purpose, but for thy information, and that thou may be the better able to judge in managing thy affairs there. I take him then to have a notion of honour very deeply impressed in him by his education, but at the same time to be a great lover of money, which two must have frequent occasions of warring upon each other. He is exceedingly dark and hidden, and thoughts work in his mind deeply without communicating, which hurry him so on, that he forgets there is anything further incumbent on him than to put these in execution, which therefore prove sometimes very little to any good purpose, but serve afterwards to plunge him into inextricable inconveniences, which prove inextricable to him, and his uncommunicative temper keeps him out of the reach of assistance. It might be expected, by thee especially, that he and I should be one upon anything in which the public is in any way concerned, when out of view and by ourselves. But there is something in his temper that renders it impracti-

cable; and yet I fancy he is of the same opinion, that it should be so, when he gives himself leave to think of it, induced I suppose by thy instructions, and the necessity he sometimes thinks there is of using me; yet that same that I mentioned before prevails over all. He has a very sharp kind of short wit, in conversation, with which his frequent silence gives a greater advantage; but in longer reasonings his views seem more contracted, and when once puzzled he can with difficulty bring himself to rights. His education under his father, and his instructions in travels, with his dislike so deeply and early imbibed against our kind of people, give him a particular turn that is not altogether fit for an English constitution. Yet when he thinks the right way a little beforehand, he can turn himself in appearance to anything.

But I have said enough, and perhaps it would be as good as all this to say in a few words, that if thou surrender I cannot think it worth thy while, on his account, to endeavour for a continuance under the Crown, for I fear thy interest will in no respect be bettered by it, and the Country will scarce be good-humoured enough again to him to make it profitable. I write with great freedom, yet without any manner of resentment, for he carries it very fair to me. But that is not the business I am now upon. 'Tis to give thee the best light I am able to order thy affairs. As to the Government itself, Isaac will be capable to give thee a sufficient acct. of it, and of the temper of the people, the Corporation especially, which is too much of an *imperium in imperio* for so young a place. They are drawing up a new Charter, to get thee to sign there, but I expect no sight of it. Had I earlier notice of it, I would have sent thee a copy of the present, that thou might compare them, for I do not remember that I ever sent one yet. But I shall move it to Thomas Story to send one. He is appointed by them with David Lloyd to write to thee, but has no penchant that way, for he is really in thy interest at the bottom, and I believe detests all manner of practices against thee. He and I are very good friends, and so I hope shall continue. He will be very serviceable to thee in opposing anything to thy disadvantage in the Corporation, and his alliance with Edward Shippen's family will be particularly

useful. As to what I wrote of him in too free a humour, by J. Guy, if it come to hand, I desire that no further notice may be taken of it. But what I said in my last before this about the Patent Office, I take to be highly reasonable, but shall press nothing of that kind, for I would not have him disobliged.

I find there is a short communication held between thy opposites among Friends there, and that corrupted generation here. G. Whitehead has wrote a most affectionate letter to Griffith Jones,[1] lately, in which he desires some solid Friends may be sent over thither, and they will endeavour for everything for Friends' advantage, with thee and the Government. But whether they mean jointly with thee or otherwise, he has been so cautious in his letter as to give no room to judge. He expresses himself as thy friend, but we all know how far he is linked in with Meads' and Lowers' party. I believe George is mistaken in Griffith, and knows not that he is not received in unity with Friends. I have also seen some notice taken of the Assembly's address or remonstrance, as if it were *really* from the Assembly. 'Tis a great unhappiness that thou didst not send it over, as mentioned in thy letter last year; for then this last Assembly would have gone upon it, and enquired into the whole matter; whereas, without it, they were not capable of doing anything, for they could not possibly obtain any copy of it, David Lloyd taking it rather upon himself, than suffering it to be reckoned as a public paper. However, Friends' letters, subscribed by all of note in the place, will, I think, lay that aside; and Isaac Norris, who was one of those to whom the business was committed, will be of particular service; and to make him the more so, it might be advisable he should appear as one of no authority, only to tell the truth impartially between both; and the real truth will be thy best friend, as also if he could be brought into some intimacy with George Whitehead, and all sorts of Friends,

[1] In another letter James Logan does Griffith Jones the justice to say that, "He has been, 'tis certain, the best magistrate Philadelphia ever had in my time of any kind, and fully made good all his promises to thee at thy departure, in paying, at least accounting for (which is equivalent), all his Quit-Rents, Tax, &c., punctually, and has further been very easy in an abuse (unheard of before) put upon him by the Surveyors, &c." — L.

the benefit of it would still be more extensive — not excluding even his acquaintance and former correspondent, Philip Ford. I have already acknowledged the receipt of thine relating to that matter, viz., those by O. Thomas to Barbadoes, and New England, but not the letter to Friends, which I suppose came by Col. Quarry, and in my last have, perhaps, given too much way to Sacheverell's flaming kind of oratory. But the matter, when fully considered, is exceedingly provoking. However, prudence must be used in the greatest extremities, for there 'tis most useful.

I am much concerned to find they[1] began the suit in Chancery, in which I cannot imagine what their drift is, unless to cut off all equity of redemption, or except laying aside their claim, they sue only for the money. 'Tis in vain now to aggravate thy trouble, by making observations on thy great easiness in suffering thyself to be so led by that self-interested man; and therefore shall only say, that seeing the thing is actually done and past, I am of opinion it will be highly necessary to push on the matter to a period. These accounts are doubtless intolerably severe and unjust, but I much fear it will prove too late to dispute them upon any account but unlawful usury; for the accounts were settled, thou gave security, and what is more, paid some years' interest. 'Tis not to be imagined that the family, however base, proposed at the first of your difference anything more than to have the money, but as the baseness of their accounts could not but force warm resentments from any man — especially from thee, to whom gratitude of a different kind was so much due — and these resentments would exasperate them, having power in their hands, and being themselves of base minds — the soonest elated by advantage given them — so 'tis possible these thoughts, by wicked incendiaries — as thou seldom wants enemies — may be raised to a pitch to push even for the Province itself. I therefore take the liberty to press thee to secure thyself so well that it may be impossible for them to triumph over thee to that degree, at the very thoughts of which every honest mind will start and bless themselves at the view of so much wickedness. But what wickedness can enter the imagina-

[1] [The Fords. — EDITOR.]

tion of man, that some have not been found base enough to practise. If David was in the right in the 12th Psalm in his age, it may surely be as well applied now, tho' under a Christian dispensation, generally speaking. I shall know in a few days whether the exemplification of the deeds came by this fleet. David Lloyd had a letter by way of York, which says they are come. But Col. Quarry is not come up yet, by whom they were promised last winter, when the power of attorney was sent by Joshua Guy.

It will doubtless appear intolerably severe to pay that oppressive sum; but if thy too great confidence in another's honesty has put all remedy out of thy power, it must be complied with, and if it unhappily prove so, 'twill be but the same thou thought was due to them for seven years together. If the business prove dubious and tedious withal, what now appears monstrous in them to endeavour for the whole propriety, will in time become more familiar to people's thoughts, and they themselves will grow hardened in it, like thorough-faced sinners who have overlived all remorse; tho' perhaps the same persons might at first have been startled at the very thought, and blushed at the unpractised sin. I know not what weight this may seem to have, but it will be found, I doubt, too just an observation upon the practice of mankind. I, therefore, for many reasons, earnestly urge and beseech thee to bring it to a period as soon as possible; for if I can judge of anything, this is one of the most dangerous causes to be held in suspense, and time will still give advantages rather to theirs than thy side. I am told to-day there is a letter in town that says the Fords expect a decree for the whole that was given in security. This makes some almost tremble. However, if that should be their horrid design, and Chancery should give it against thee, I cannot but think the House of Lords would relieve in that point—but I hope there is no danger. I fear the new Chancellor will be exasperated against Friends for his brother's sake, upon their violent prosecution, and I wish that collusion in thy joining with P. F. to save the payment of that tax may not prove of some diskindness to thee. But while I write so much in the dark, these notions of mine may perhaps appear very idle, but they are such

thoughts as the notices I have received of the matter furnish me with.

I have wrote fully in my last concerning the parting with the Government money thou must pay, either less or more, and I can but think it the most advisable way to raise it, if practicable. I wish it may be found so, but these calamitous times I doubt will make it difficult. However, ere this, the affairs of Spain will by this time give you large room to judge what is to be expected. We are wholly in the dark, and know not to this day whether Barcelona is lost or saved.[1] We have had two or three accounts of the latter, but they are given us in such a manner that they rather justly raise a suspicion of the contrary. If it prove so, I reckon it will be the greatest blow to us that we have yet felt. If otherwise, it may in the consequence perhaps be as good as another Hochstadt. But, however it is, thou wilt know by it more fully, I believe, what is to be expected from the Crown.

I at length send thee the accounts so often mentioned in as good order as I can, but 'tis impossible for me to yet give them in the order I hoped, and still do, if not prevented by Ford to bring them to — that is, to give thee an exact account of what is due for every tract of land. I began these so at first, but soon met with so many difficulties that it would have been too imperfect to send as yet, and therefore choose only to give an account of the lands and yearly rents, without regard to the arrears. The method I take was never yet attempted by any here but Blackwell, and his differed much from mine, for he only went by the returns of the Surveyor's office, and disposed the names of the first takers-up alphabetically, but I go by the tracts of land themselves, as they lie in order, and so suffer not an acre to escape me. To the lands are added the first takers-up to the whole quantity, the warrant, survey, and patents; then the subdivisions since made, and possessors of these subdivisions, who are the real tenants, and these tenants must be altered upon every sale, but still in the same place of the roll, because the

[1] [Barcelona capitulated on Oct. 4, 1705 (N. S.), an event the truth of which, it would seem, was not accurately ascertained here even ten months after it happened. — EDITOR.]

land is still fixed in the same place. Then follow the columns for making up accounts of past rents, in which every past receipt that can be procured is entered, and the balance settled, and a new column left for entry of payments hereafter; of this I would have sent an extract, as I said before, but the people have been so backward in coming in and producing receipts, that I found it would leave too many chasms; therefore took only this method, in which, notwithstanding, I could not make them complete. Bucks and Chester County, with the Welsh Tract, I give thee finished from laborious works; also Philadelphia City as far as the centre, some out-lots in Sassafras Street excepted. The Centre and Schuylkill I have not yet done, the settlers and claimants being very unwilling to come to an account, in hopes that for the disappointments they have met with, thro' thy earnest invitations to them to settle there, their rents will be remitted to them. Of New Castle County, I send as exact an account as can be given from as accurate a re-survey as could possibly be made from Christina to Duck Creek, but all that spacious hundred between Christina and Brandywine I left to Thomas Pierson, who I thought was best acquainted with it and would be very faithful; but he has disappointed me, surveying only such tracts as he suspected, which indeed was all I desired of him, but I expected, besides, that he would have returned the whole hundred in a draught, helped by the surveys he had made there before. But he proved very humoursome, so that we differed upon it, and I cannot have it at this time. Rocklands is also done, but the surveyor that did it is much of the same humour with t'other, so that I cannot have as yet. But for Philadelphia County, where we should be exactest, there have I met with more difficulty than in all the rest. I have employed three surveyors upon it, but they have all their own ways. T. F. [Thomas Fairman] seldom fails of disappointing those who depend on him; D. Powel is the best-natured man to talk to, but the most unmanageable to deal with that I have met with; the other was a stranger, but did his business the fairest according to his skill, which, thro' his want of acquaintance, however, was not so useful as the others could have made it. I therefore send for Philadelphia County only an account of the lands in it.

As for overplus, it has been T. F.'s chief walk, and therefore where he has set his foot a second time, there is nothing to be expected, tho' no man leaves better slices at first; but it was always to go for them again, which he scarce ever failed to do, and therefore the overmeasure of this County will prove very inconsiderable.

I send also a list of bonds and other debts, with a summary computation of what I think may be due to thee, besides which there is another, of the value of lands to be disposed of, viz., overplus and scattered vacancies; but lest thou should depend upon that as so much money to be raised, I assure thee that sum for them, tho' I had seven years allowed for payment, unless times very much mend, so that I fear that the accounts of rents will scarce be of the service I could have wished for; scarce any man imagines but that this Province and the profits of it are worth abundantly more than it really now is.

I forget to mention the two Lower Counties, which were never re-surveyed, and I am pleased they were not, for in New Castle County we are like to get but little for overplus. They do not understand the meaning of paying anything for it; but I think if they advance their rent, and pay a bushel of wheat for every hundred that is found, they are very generous. However, I have broke the way with them and taught some of them better reason; but in Kent and Sussex it would be impossible; in the latter they think the quit-rents themselves a hardship, and in Kent they are backward, but they are everywhere exceeding poor, and lands here daily fall in value . . . . . .

I was obliged to set the Sasquehanna lands among the debts due to thee, tho' I expect nothing will come from them, but they entered my former computation, mentioned to thy son, of £12,000, to make up which now I mention them again, but believe thou hadst much better sell them. Only pray remember the Indians, and if possible a quit-rent; also that all these men are foreigners, who I find are generally more exact than ourselves, occasioned I suppose by their having strangers to deal with, and therefore will be very uneasy when told here, that, being aliens, they cannot inherit. Thou knows the Attorney-General condemned the bill for naturalization entirely, and how

'tis to be effected without provision there I do not see. The Germans and Dutch here are all extremely uneasy upon it. This is a thing of that importance that it cannot too speedily be taken care of. I again also add my request that I may be sensible of their locations and confirmations here, if no other inconveniency attends it.

I need not mention, I suppose, the cause why I take no further notice of my own coming over. I desired thy directions in it when I spoke of it at first; and last winter, by Joshua Guy, thou ordered me the contrary. Yet, had not Isaac Norris gone, I should have still been very inclinable, but now have laid aside the thoughts of it, for he I expect will be of very good service.

We have been most of this summer under great apprehensions of an attack from the fleet in the West Indies. In York they have fortified themselves with a vast charge and great application, which will render our naked and defenceless condition the most observable. I know not whether the intended address is carried on. I can hear nothing of it, but when Col. Quarry[1] comes we may hear more, tho' I am pleased that at this juncture he comes over under obligations of friendship, because these may tie him up for some little time. Yet I wish that of his being of the Council had never been mentioned; it carries a very great snare with it. I thought thou knew him fully, and thou canst but know that is no place for an artful ——, especially one that maintains such a correspondence with the Lords of Trade, that may by this means propose and insist on some heads that he knows cannot be obtained, and plead his obligation to it from his oath; whereas before it was not his business to intermeddle with affairs of Government; but now, if he is admitted, he will have a very good pretence for it, and raise broils within ourselves. He has given expectations to the contrary; but can the leopard change his skin? I cannot understand the policy of admitting a professed enemy within our walls because

[1] [It will be recollected that Logan, in a former letter, had expressed himself in more favorable terms of Quarry's character than Penn thought justifiable, and that the latter had cautioned Logan upon the subject. It now appears that Penn had come over to Logan's view, and that Logan had reconsidered his former more favorable estimate of Quarry's character. — EDITOR.]

he changes his face. If that should take in the world, we should have traitors enter everywhere. I am sure this will be looked on as a very unaccountable step if he comes in amongst us, and will not only prove disgustful, but really of itself equally dangerous, and therefore I shall do the best I can to get it put fairly by, and at the same time maintain a good understanding with him, of which I am very desirous, and heartily glad he comes under an appearance itself of a friendly disposition. But it will be difficult to manage it, because of the Governour's closeness. This, I believe, is the last time that I shall mention that gentleman. This opportunity I shall, therefore, sum up all in saying, that, as thou wilt easily perceive thy interest can scarce be well served by him, so it will doubtless lessen thy endeavours to continue the Government, and when a change comes I have said enough. In the meantime I humbly offer it as my thought, that he had best be treated with all the easiness the matter will bear as long as in place; and I request above all things, while here, there may be nothing said that may occasion a misunderstanding in him towards me, for it will be of very ill consequence, he being Governour here and I but Secretary, and exceedingly envied by all who think they are frustrated of their end by my means, and therefore want all the support that can be given me; and as for what I wrote about the difference between us concerning his allowance, 'tis fit he should be told I have related the matter fully. Yet if thou thinks fit to write any positive express order, in relation to either the future or past, upon any proposal that I have made, be pleased to give it of thyself, and not to refer it to me upon any other head than to account with him. I never could discover but that he had honourable sentiments towards thee in all respects, and his failure in serving thee seems, upon the whole, to be owing rather to a want of genius for it, and that ardour I mentioned before, than want of inclination.

I send inclosed thee a copy of a letter to Carroll, in Maryland, about our Southern bounds, with his answer, by which thou wilt find what their sentiments of the matter are. What I have said of C. Empson is very just, for he is certainly a base, vile man, and a scandal to the profession.

Samuel Carpenter found himself obliged, in discharge of his

duty to the company that has intrusted him, to write, with Thomas Fairman, to thee about their lands. He is troubled at the necessity, but says it could not be avoided, and requests thee to manage it the best thou canst for the ease of all concerned. Owen Roberts, Hugh's son, is coming over, much disaffected. He and Robert Jones, of Merion, the latter especially, are deeply in David Lloyd's interest, and are troublesome to many good Friends there. Owen and I have often differed about his unreasonable screwing humour, for he is the hardest man I ever had to deal with. He will be of no service to thee there, unless smoothed well at first and taken off; but Isaac Norris will be an ally. Isaac was obliged to join with D. Lloyd in a paper called a complaint to the commissioners, desiring satisfaction for T. Lloyd's services, of which I send a copy, as also of an answer to it, drawn up just now in great haste. I say Isaac was obliged to sign this, lest the other should complain of him as not ready to do all in his power for the benefit of the estate; but they are very likely to differ upon the whole, David offering something very base even to that family he has pretended himself so much a champion of. Thou desires that thy son may have justice against the corporation, and I find he fears that he has been prosecuted to an outlawry; but he has been misinformed. The grand jury presented, but the Court issued a *venire* for him to appear upon it, which was their fault. But there it dropt, and never went further, tho' the rest were prosecuted, they say, to a *ne exeat*, and then it dropt also with them, so that none ever suffered by it. I admire who gave him that account. You certainly hear many false ones of us.

T. F. just now desired me to write to thee that he may have the lower 24½ foot of Lætitia's lot from Front to Second Street. He had a former claim on it, and when I bargained for that part on the 2d Street, he was exceeding uneasy, and warned my chapman the lowest price set upon it, being four lots in the whole, viz., one Front and one Second Street lot of 100 feet deep each, and two alley lots, £250. 'Tis patented to her, but he has a kind of grant of some of the front, both from thee and her when on board the *Dolmahoy*. I shall add no more here, but refer to the next sheet to take notice of thy pacquets just now received, by thy most obedient servant, J. L.

14th of 6th-mo., 1706.

P.S.— I have a few hours ago received thy pacquets sent by Col. Quarry, per a messenger sent up before him with all his letters; but he himself is not yet come up. Amongst which letters there is another from the Fords, Isaac Norris tells me, informing they have sent exemplifications of thy deeds, and that they have the original deed and patent for both Province and Territories in their possession. I cannot yet judge whether David will publish them. If he does, there will be a full stop to all proceedings. Inhuman monsters!

I have perused thy letter to Friends, and shewed it to Samuel Carpenter before I sealed it, upon account of something in it, and we both concluded it was necessary to blot out one passage in it, viz., thy dream of Philip Ford, because it would be requisite it should come to more hands than that was fit to be told to. Afterwards I sealed it up and delivered it.

The time is so short that it will not allow these Friends to answer it by this opportunity; but I have spoke with the chief of them, and their sentiments are, that the matter proposed is impossible. What is desired might have been much better done seven years ago than it now can, of which I. N. will more largely inform thee. 'Tis all that the farmers can do now to subsist, for trade and everything else is dull and low. I have discoursed very seriously with Samuel Carpenter, whose judgment I take to be of the best of any man's in the Province, and the sum of what he says, besides what I have mentioned already, is, that for him, or any other man in this place, to advise thee to part with the Government, would be exceedingly dangerous for the person that did so, were it known. But were he to whisper in thy ear, he would tell thee his thoughts more fully, which in short are, if thou canst get anything for it from the Crown, and good terms for the people with it, 'tis the only thing advisable at this juncture, for this Province cannot now raise anything, they have it not, nor do I *believe* there is so much money as thou mentions in the whole Government. We have no credit in England, and with what difficulty we make returns is sufficiently known, so that there can be no dependence upon us. Were it to save every man in the country from ruin, they could not raise enough to discharge thy incumbrances.

As to the accounts sent herewith, in which I make £13,000 due to thee, reckoning in Sasquehanna subscriptions, which, without a change of circumstances, can never be raised here, and the account of lands to be £17,000, which makes together £30,000 (I take only the round sums). 'Tis to be noted that this money, without the change so often mentioned, and indeed perhaps without a peace, can not be raised; 'tis absolutely impossible. There are no buyers of land — even W. T. [William Trent] and I. N. [Isaac Norris] are not overpleased with their bargain. Had not land been lately in request, the memory of which still remains with us, it would be near as low as twelve years ago, but the late prices it bore still keep it up. Thou hast been grossly abused in the Manor of Springetsbury, formerly accounted 3,000 acres; but upon the re-survey, there is not half that quantity, yet we have not disposed of one acre of it, nor any of thy other manors, Rocklands excepted, and 1000 acres in Gilbert's for £285, and 150 in Springfield at a very high rent.

I have really raised a great deal of money since thy departure. My accounts sent last year shewed £8,000 paid and ship't off, and yet when I look about to see what it has been raised from, I do not miss any great quantities of land, and often admire that so very little appears; and 'tis well it proves so, for it has turned to a very slender account, but that has not been my fault; 'tis certain I have undone most sellers, and am sometimes ashamed of the prices I have taken, tho' at others I blame myself in some cases the other way. I have underrated the manors in thy account, now sent, very considerably, and would not fear in ten years' time, with peace, to make that £17,000 rise nearer to 25 or £30,000. I mean an advantageous peace, but as things now go, there is nothing to be expected.

I know not how to behave to W. Aubrey and his wife; they have never wrote since their last angry letter. Please and keep it to thyself, for I still honour my young mistress, and would by no means break with them. Last night we received accounts of a very great action on the confederates' side, that fortunate one of Sir John Leach,[1] and the bloody but brave one of the

[1] [Referring either to the relief and preservation of Gibraltar from the French and Spaniards, in 1705, by Sir John Leake, or to the relief of

great Duke of Marlborough, the 12th of May last.[1] If the fleet mentioned for the West Indies (viz., 30 sail,) come and meet with equal success there, it will exceedingly benefit this place, but still I am of opinion there can be no dependence upon anything here, to raise enough to clear thy incumbrances, but by disposing of the Government at least to the Crown.

James Logan to William Penn, Jr.[2]

[*Extracts.*] Philadelphia, *August* 12, 1706.

. . . . . Thomas Story carries very well since his marriage. He and I are very great friends, for I think the whole business is not now worth a quarrel, and I believe he will be serviceable to thy father's interest here. I therefore request thee to abate of thy former resentment, and look upon him such as I have last mentioned . . . . . .

Inclosed I send thee a full account of all I have disbursed for thee since thy first arrival here, as far as I have made entries, and I at present know of nothing more except some odd sums which I placed at first to the account of general expenses, and therefore would not alter them.

I know this account will prove displeasing when thou sees all these articles brought under the head of thy name, but I could not frame it otherwise in my books. I have disbursed or stand charged with every penny of it, and must place it somewhere. Thy father, in his last letter, has ordered me to allow on his account twenty shillings per week for thy expenses, the charge

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Barcelona by the Earl of Peterborough and Sir John Leake on the 8th of May, 1706 (N. S.); more probably to the latter event. — Editor.]

[1] [Being *Whitsunday*, May 12, 1706 (O. S.). The Duke of *Marlborough* obtained a complete victory over the Elector of *Bavaria* and Marshal Villeroi at *Ramillies:* several thousand of the enemy were killed, and 6,000 taken, with a great part of their artillery and baggage. The loss, on the part of the confederates, was very inconsiderable. — *Salmon's Chronology.* — Editor.]

[2] The first part of this letter contains an account of the marriage of Thomas Story with Ann Shippen, and of her father, Edward Shippen, Sen., to the relict of Philip James. — L.

of thy return to England, and thy own accommodation, for so I understand him, and to place the rest to thy account; but I find it will be absolutely impossible for me to adjust the matter to both or perhaps either of your satisfactions, and therefore I send this over to be settled between yourselves, and request that upon your agreement the blank article of allowance on the credit side may be filled up; and please to make me acquainted with it, which I desire may be in both your letters, that I may enter it here and act accordingly, and that I may be blamed by neither. I would willingly favour thee in what I can, but as I am responsible for everything to thy father, so I know not what other course to take. I have not sent him any copy of the account.

There are some articles that perhaps may shock thee, particularly that of the Conestogoe journey, but 'tis exactly, as everything else is, as they have charged, and I have paid, and yet they have not accounted anything for the provision that they supplied, but bore all the charge of that themselves; it is to be remembered, therefore, that good part of that sum was for presents — corn and bread. Edward Shippen, I expected, would have given considerably more for the horse, but he would not agree positively till he had seen him, and then would scarce be brought to buy him at all. Wm. Biles, Jr., thought he was well sold if I could get £16 for him in that condition. That of the powder will appear hard, but it must be placed to some account, and since it was thy act and orders, I can charge it to no other, unless I have an order for it, which I desire thou wouldst take pains to obtain; such things, in my opinion, ought to be answered out of the publick money, but the gentleman at the helm seems so hearty an admirer of that himself, that he allows none out of his hands. The militia, that cost thee so much pains,[1] seems utterly knocked o' th' head, for which I cannot assign to myself any other cause than that it carries some charge with it, and now when publick money is raised, it will be expected that they should defray those charges, into whose hands that comes, to obviate which there can be no readier method than to prevent the occasion. At the last general mus-

[1] The first Pennsylvania militia company, raised by Wm. Penn, Jr.—L.

ter at New Castle, for the whole county, held by his the Governour's particular appointment on the 29th of May last, tho' the men took a great deal of pains to acquit themselves, he left them without giving one of them, as far as I can hear, so much as one glass of liquor, or taking any publick notice of them, as they affirm below, which has lost him their affections, 'tis said, to a strange degree. As for my own part, I am exceedingly pincht. We have fallen into a method of management that I have hitherto been much a stranger to. I never before knew what it was to be at loss how to consult within-doors.

I wish honest Charles Eden were with thee for one hour or two, to give thee an account of his observations and disappointments here; but of him more when I have first told thee that I am very sensible thou stands in great need of supplies where thou now art, and my inability to contribute towards those proves no small trouble to me. I was not, thou knows, to receive any money (but what thy bill drawn upon me, and what I was to pay for thee would be required to apply that way) till 8th last. I then indeed might have had some or perhaps all that was due, but at that very time I had £300 of Wm. Aubrey's money lying by me, which I was forced to keep all winter and spring in my chest, without being able to purchase one bill that it was fit to lay money out upon, nor have I yet received more than for one hundred pounds sterling. I have paid long ago for another hundred also, but have not received them, and doubt I shall not now, to send by this fleet. The way the merchants here take to get bills is by trading to Maryland or with the West India goods. This method I took also, and for a trial ship'd to B. Shurmer in Virginia about one hundred pounds, jointly with William Trent, who sent as much, but before it arrived or we knew of it, he had orders to return for England, and would not attend to it. . . . . .

I have Isaac Norris' bond for £100 more, which, lying at interest, I care not to take it up, since I know not what to do with it. To ship off money loses about 70 per cent., besides the risk at sea, so that I know not what measures to take that will give satisfaction. There lies some more still in Wm. Trent's hands, which I dare not receive till I know how to dispose of it. If

the bills Isaac brings over on his own account are paid, and his brigantine gets safe and sells well, perhaps upon application he may advance something in part of the £100; but he will be extremely unwilling, for every 20 shillings sterling he pays, there will be 20 shillings of this money loss to him, because the 20 would yield him at least 55 here, goods being at 175 per cent. advance. Bills are here at 60, when to be had.

I must now tell thee, that C. Eden arriving here after thy departure, hoped to find no small friend in his old acquaintance, the Governour here. He lodged with him the first two nights, but the next came of himself and turned into mine, where he staid for 8 months following. He had not been long in the place before he resented the distance used to him, and could not forbear making sharp observations upon a conduct he saw, which he never expected. He staid and spent money while he had it, at the least under great discontents, and considering what was next to be done, he resolved to go off if he could find means to do it. He proposed to draw bills on his brother-in-law, Roderick Lloyd, and uncle, Doct. Love, but few cared to touch with them. He mentioned it several times to me, knowing I had occasion to make remittances. It was some hardship to me. I was extremely willing to serve him on the one hand, but thought it too great a risk on the other. I then proposed to our Governour, on whom his chief dependence was at his arrival, to indorse them if I could procure the money, but he appeared so very cold in it, and Charles now so very unwilling to be obliged to him, that I pressed it no further. In short, upon his draught alone I supplied him £70 sterling, for which he drew on his brother for £30, and on his uncle for £40. The bills I sent on my own account, telling him [John Askew] the state of the case, and requesting him not only to present the bills, but, if they made any scruples, to press the matter with the arguments I furnished him with; but the sum of the whole is, that last week I received the melancholy account from him that neither would be paid, and he further tells me, that, tho' he had not yet done it, he designed nevertheless to protest them (tho' I had desired the contrary), that I might have my remedy here upon the drawer, he said; but, alas, my dependence on that was so small

that I never thought it worth while to order it. Charles made one trip, now just 12 months ago, to Curaçoa, from whence he returned in 9br, with at least as much as he carried with him, and in a few weeks went thither again, intending to equip from thence to the Spanish Coast on trade, but I had a letter from him in the Spring, which gave but a dull account of affairs there, by reason of their embargoes and apprehensions of the French fleet's designs. He cannot command himself in company, I very well know, which bumper, with the heat of the climate, will very much endanger him.[1] . . . . . .

What shall I say of that unparalleled piece of management, Philip Ford's business? Such baseness on the one hand and laziness on the other was never, I believe, heard of. I much fear thy father's resentment of so much villany will lead him to forget his security and not suffer him to be cautious enough against the advantages they have in their hands. A Chancery suit is a dreadful curse as now managed, and if thy father end it not himself, who was the actor in it, I much fear the consequences. Pray endeavour to know truly what may be expected, not only from such counsel as, wanting your fees, will buoy you up till they can suck no longer and then go off with some pitiful excuse, but such as will inform impartially. I really fear their strength, 'tis a most pernicious business. For my own part, I suppose I may e'en go plant cabbages, for I expect exemplifications of the deeds now from Virginia; a power of attorney has come already. . . . . .

I close this, and conclude with sincere respects to thyself and family. Thy most faithful and affectionate J. L.

[1] The rest of the paragraph is an entreaty to W. P., Jr., to aid John Askew in making such representations to the friends of C. Eden, on whom he drew the bills, as would induce them to acceptance, that James Logan might not be a loser by them, after all his "friendship and services," which he says Eden was "ready to acknowledge high enough." He is designated as much of a gentleman, and the particular friend of Wm. Penn, Jr. — L.

James Logan to Thomas Callowhill.

Philadelphia, 13*th* 6*th-mo.*, 1706.

. . . . . I fear we shall be engaged in great perplexities by reason of that most unfortunate business of P. Ford. Never was there any person more barbarously treated or baited with undeserved enemies. He has been able to foil all attacks from public adversaries, but 'tis his fortune to meet with greatest severities from those that owe most to him. One would think there was almost a commission granted, as one against Job, for his trial. For such a combination of adversaries has seldom been known to attack a person that so little deserved them. It must be confessed something of it all is owing to his easiness and want of caution. I wish some of those that are acquainted with the more effectual ways of transacting such concerns would search into the bottom of it, consider by the most unbiassed advice the strength of his antagonists, and endeavour to fix on the most effectual means for his security; for as far as I can gather from the accounts I have at such a distance, P. Ford's designs were base and barbarous from the beginning, and what an old cunning self-interested man with such intentions might be capable of doing when he had so much goodness, openheartedness and confidence in himself to deal with, is not difficult to be imagined. I thought I should have been obliged to much more brevity, but my pen has run on. My dear love and respects to thy wife, daughter, and mistress, if there. The same to thyself and wife, if living, and to all friends in a suitable degree, from,

Thy assured faithful friend, J. L.

The winter of 1705–6 was very sickly, especially among children. In the ship *Diligence*, Bartholomew Penrose, master, of Philadelphia, but sailing from Virginia, and ordered to go "North about," to avoid privateers, J. L. writes that he remits the value of between 5 and £6,000 to the Proprietor, and £300 to his son. J. L. at this time complains that he had been one twelvemonth without one line from the Proprietor.

By the Letters in the Book for this year, it appears that Col. Markham died considerably in William Penn's debt, and kept no accounts to ascertain what those debts were.

Col. Markham (I believe) left only one child, a daughter, married to J. Reigneir, a lawyer of some eminence.—*General Note by* Mrs. Logan.

James Logan to Edward Hackett.

Philadelphia, 13*th of 6th-mo.*, 1706.

Dear Friend. — Thine and thy daughter's favour, by J. Salked, I received with no small satisfaction, for to me it has always been a great one to be remembered by those I have so much reason to value. I had some thoughts before this to have seen you all there, but matters have been ordered otherwise. How my life may be directed for the future, I know not. That most unfortunate business between the basest and most ungrateful of families, P. F.'s, and our Proprietor, will, I fear, give us no small trouble here, as I doubt not it has yielded it very plentifully to the latter and all good Friends there. When I consider, Edward, the world we are confined to is capable of harbouring so much villany, as should, one would think, be sufficient to infect the vital air we draw, with a hellish stench, destructive to everything that's good or fair, I am quite sick of it, and could wish myself transported to any other better sphere — and surely a worse cannot be in a good and wise God's creation, except it be that some infernal Erebus itself, whose powers seem to have broke from their centre, and to have a full playday given them, to range the more open and expanded ether which used to be accounted pure, but no longer will deserve the title. 'Tis horrid blackness all, but thou wilt think, I fear, the frenzy of the disease I complained of has entered my brain, and that I am already as unfit for this world as I would fancy it for me. Well, I say it soberly, I am sick of the world unless it would mend, which I scarce expect this revolution. But alas, we are chained to the car, and must drag it on.

We have been wildly alarmed here with that pestiferous Debreville in the West Indies all this summer. New York is very apprehensive of him, and have shut up their shops, and all hands taken to the mattock, shovel and spade, to keep him out when he comes. Never was there more fortifying in America. But poor we can do nothing. Friends, of the majority, will not; and because it requires an Act of Assembly, which cannot be obtained without them, others *can* do no more than these *will* have them. We had, however, a monstrous alarm amongst us,

given for a *coup d'état*, but a very ill-contrived and undigested one, for it has put us in a worse condition than we were before — shewn our weakness, and made the generality less willing to help themselves, because so grossly abused. But who can call the "King" in question? As we that are young grow old, we may grow wiser — I am sure it is fit we should.

We hear strange stories here of the siege of Barcelona. May the good genius of England grant that so young a Prince, that has been making his first addresses to a crown, and never knew what it was to come to enjoyment, may not at once be disappointed and be forced to change all his blooming hopes for captivity, for we much fear the effects of that siege. Some, indeed, have told us that Sir John Leake had taken or destroyed the Count de Thoulouse's squadron before it, and thereby relieved the town. We know 'tis true nothing must be accounted impossible to English courage; but I, for my own incredulous part, could almost as soon believe he had taken the church of Notre Dame or carried off Pont Neuf in Paris.

Among other things that prove very troublesome to me in this same vile world, Portuguese and New England printed news, I assure thee, is none of the very least. However, I should take it very well to be found in this point very much in the wrong; which, whether so or not, you know perfectly, long before my writing of this, though I know not whether we shall, certainly, before Christmas. When I first took pen in hand, I was so jaded with long epistles, I doubted I should find nothing to say, and yet friendship should never be at loss to express itself. I, therefore, e'en resolved to fill the first page, and no more, with what e'er came uppermost; but, behold, thou seest how far I am advanced in the third — to what purpose, I know not. All I can say is, that I request thee to take this as a letter; and the best answer I am capable of giving at this present writing being, as 'tis ever the fool's excuse that can find little to say, very much in haste. But I am equally in debt to the sweet young gentlewoman, thy daughter, to whom I should have first begun the discharge of my duty, as manners are always first due there. But, truly, I am quite unqualified at this instant for addresses, and therefore must beg her excuse till I can retrieve one

minute or two of liberty to think again, and then I hope to employ some of the first to pay my regards to her. I should write to several others in Bristol besides, particularly R. Stafford, who favoured me lately. If I cannot, pray communicate something of what I say in this to him, if it may be allowed that I say anything. Give my dear love also to J. Hollidge, Ed. Lloyd, John Andrews, and other good Friends. Thou forgot to inform me whether Doct. Cook be living and there, that I may write to him, for I am much his debtor. My respects also to Dr. Dover, *cum multis aliis*, and among the rest to my good landlord Jno. Butcher. Pray excuse all this and the unprofitable commission in it, and believe that no time, temper, or humour can put me beside showing myself to the utmost power,

Thy affectionate and obliged friend, J. L.

Tho' I forgot to mention my love to thy wife and daughters, be assured I cannot forget them; therefore pray now give it.

JAMES LOGAN TO JOHN CHURCHHILL.

6th 6th-mo., 1706.

JNO. CHURCHHILL — ESTEEMED FRIEND: — I received yours, with a copy of the invoice of books last year, with sundry duplicates, which I deferred answering in hopes of being able to do it in a little time the most effectual way; but the great discouragements this place has fallen under by the decay of its trade and the exportation of almost all our money, makes even the minutest affair of that kind very troublesome. These books were at first very unhappily scattered. Several of the most considerable remain yet unsold, so that, unless I will pay out of my own pocket for what I was not concerned with, nor in any wise answerable for, otherwise than 'tis put upon me, I cannot yet give the satisfaction you desire, and therefore must request your further patience till I can bring it better to bear, which I hope you will be pleased to grant, since all I get by it is my own trouble for your security. I should be much better pleased to serve you more to your advantage, being your real and hearty friend, J. LOGAN.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *September the 15th*, 1706.

Honoured Governour:—By Isaac Norris in the Virginia fleet, I have been so large that I am really ashamed to think of my prolixity, as well as the liberty I took in some particulars; but I never experienced so great a depression of spirits as I have this last summer; and 'tis difficult to stop a troubled mind from shewing itself. I hope, nevertheless, that what relates to thy business will have its weight.

On the 10th instant, the Commissioners being all met about a very troublesome claim of the Indians to the land on Brandywine, reserved at their great sale, for which we were forced to promise them £100 of our money, a third only of what they insisted on, D. Lloyd and J. Moore produced copies of Ford's deeds, brought over by J. S. Rolfe, with his Will, and her Power of Attorney to them. They told us they thought it their duty to shew them to us; but appeared not then very inclinable to meddle. They were much more civil than I expected; but I suppose they design to call on the people for their rents, which, indeed, is the utmost at present in their power. But we shall endeavour to obstruct payment, tho' they would take it in part of the original debt, and the Fords allow it so; we should have no reason to be against it, but this they will not.

D. Lloyd seems as desirous as any man to get the incumbrance cleared; and S. Carpenter tells me, he thinks he is truly in earnest; but there is little to be depended on for some time from hence; not for want of inclination, but ability, of which I. N. can best inform thee. I shall once more, upon the whole, make bold to give thee my opinion, which is, that it might not be unadvisable if thou couldst procure a fair audience of the Queen herself, to throw thyself on her favour, telling her thy whole circumstances, and how thou hast been led unto them, and so make her a tender of the Government, in case she will grant thee for a consideration sufficient to clear thee of the incumbrances only, what thy making this Colony and thereby enlarging her Dominions, has cost thee; and if she give way to it, then to come as speedily as possible to a positive agreement

about all matters relating to it, the Lower Counties, &c. The Lords of Trade are scarce thy friends, I doubt; and perhaps the readiest way to deal with that wary gentleman, the Lord Treasurer, might be to have him influenced from above, if the Queen will be prevailed on to do anything in matters of that kind but what he dictates; and then it will be much more easy, pardon my distant guesses, to carry the matter down to the Lords, if she once expresses her will or inclination to it in general. Certainly thy story fully told, cannot but find place with her, and thy having begun to treat with the Lords, will incline her the better to hearken to it, when she is told that a speedy dispatch is the chief thing that can help thee; and from her royal goodness alone thou canst expect the greatest aid; that unless she is pleased to join with thy proposals, thou wilt be obliged to turn some other way to seek relief, &c. If this will not do, the next step seems to be to find out some persons there, who, upon thy making all over to them, will lay down the money, and who will appoint persons with thy approbation to sell off and receive here and remit effects to them only till they are paid, and then that all the remainder should revert. I am of opinion it ought to be fully known what can be done by either one or t'other of these ways before the decree is given, which, 'tis generally believed here, must be for thee to pay so much money within a limited time, otherwise that they shall have possession, which, should it ever come to pass, would bring utter ruin and discredit to thy affairs. The greatest plainness in these points will be absolutely necessary; for the want of that, and not making known thy circumstances in time, has led thee into all these inconveniences, and given that villain — for he himself, in short, however thou may incline to excuse him, was the villain — these opportunities of abusing thee. But there is one reason, indeed many, that make a treaty with the Crown the fittest, viz., the reservation on the Lower Counties, as well as the want of powers of government there. 'Tis in vain to cast shadows over things of this weight, though it be necessary to make the best of it, 'till the matter can be settled; yet settled it must be, or all be tore to pieces; the world 's very prying now everywhere. Thou knows the sentiments of the Council of Trade, &c., on these points,

and the people here will be fully acquainted with them, as indeed great part are already by R. French's means, and some such others. The Secretary of N. York, George Clark, is Auditor-General for these parts, under Blaithwaite. I had a letter from him lately, informing me he was to come this way shortly speedily, in business under him, which I fear will prove the same that Depeyster had directions about, he is my very good friend; but I must observe orders, if he has any. I shall do what I can with him, if it should prove so.

Colonel Cox, I fear, will give us much trouble about Salem lands. He affirms he has purchased the mortgage of all Ethridge's right, and resolves to sue for possession. I hate a Jersey Court, but shall do what I can in it.

Col. Quarry arrived ten days ago. He makes offers of all the service in his power; but I cannot think the Council a proper place, as yet at least.

Business will now be generally at a stand, as indeed it has been for a considerable time. I, therefore, now propose, if not prevented by God's will, to come over in the spring, for I believe thou must have so much to do there that my presence will be no disservice. I send as full accounts as I well could, by Isaac, but I wholly omitted Philadelphia bank,[1] with some other things, through the hurry I was in at making up that general account, the last thing of the kind that I did. If it please God to give these prodigious successes of the confederates last 3d-month, of which we have heard the issue that may be hoped for, and we again have the same trade as formerly with the Spaniards, I doubt not but in seven years' time twenty thousand pounds sterling might be raised and remitted from hence. But then we ought to have something to strengthen us about overplus lands, for which we have now nothing but equity, since the law of property is repealed. However, I request that this may not encourage thy holding the Government if thou canst have anything considerable for it. 'Tis present money thou wants, without any delay, and *I really think it* certainly is impossible to raise the money from hence to answer Ford's suit, though to pay those again that raise it on the pinch may be feasible. Friends

[1] [The river-bank lots. — EDITOR.]

here, *I believe*, would become engaged upon a good security for at least £5,000 to the persons there; but thy security might be a hindrance to the rest, and would be tedious and much more troublesome than what I have mentioned before. A great many are very willing, but there are few generous spirits to be found among such a people, and we are certainly at present greatly reduced, though one year of brisk trade might put us in a tolerable condition again.

18*th September.*—[In continuation.]—This is now the last day of the Yearly Meeting at Burlington, where some designed to move in the matter, viz., those thou wrote to, and try what might be done. It may serve to give thy affairs a reputation, and therefore shall press it; but I would advise thee by no means to depend on anything that way to answer present exigencies, nor indeed to make use of the method, and much less to make any considerable positive sales there, except it be such a bargain as will go a great way to clear thee, or thou art well assured will be no hindrance to other sales, viz., public bargain or the sale of the Susquehanna lands, or other great tracts beyond the present surveys for public sales as be safe enough; for whate'er thou receives by these ways will be too dearly bought. At such a pinch they will be for making sharp bargains in England, and what is done here will also be a great clog. Those that are truly honest and hearty, might be reasonable; but among those so many others will be found, led in by example, and for their reputation, whose narrow spirits can never think a kindness sufficiently repaid, that I can by no means be reconciled to the method, and therefore, as I said before, must advise to borrowing the money, and make over all for security to revert again, when the loan is paid, then thou wilt be free to sell thy lands by the persons impowered for that purpose, who may always follow thy directions, to whom and how it shall be thought fit, and none can find fault. But if any here advance the money to be paid in lands, there will be a constant murmuring and repining among a great many of them, unless at least doubly or trebly paid.

This day also the Assembly was to meet here, but there is not

a quorum, as they call it, come to town. What will be done by either I know not, but cannot expect much, nor would I by any means advise thee to depend on them. The Assembly, to be sure, cannot so much as offer anything that can answer thy wants, and what friends might do will, I doubt, be too dearly bought, especially since all they can do will be so little. Their offers indeed might give the matter some reputation, but for the reasons before given, I cannot think them fit to be embraced. Should they make them, I have been so plain on this head that I can scarce add anything, only that should any money be advanced here, they must be paid for it at their own rates, and there will still be repiners, but if these persons be employed by the lenders and thee jointly to sell, they may oblige the buyers here to come to their own terms, being under no necessity of selling to any particular person, as in the other case.

I dare nothing to add concerning Government to what I have wrote before, only renew my request that there may be no misunderstanding raised between the Lieutenant and me while here, from the necessary informations given, and shall further say, that I really believe he intends not ill in anything that happens amiss, but that 'tis a peculiar unhappiness of temper and want of experience. I really believe he is hearty to thee. The master stays, and therefore must conclude. J. L.

6th October. — [In continuation.] — The first part of the preceding is a copy of what I sent by a ship bound to Whitehaven. The other part of it on this sheet I desire may be read, though the other be received.

We have now had an election for another Assembly, which has proved such as I feared and hinted at in some of mine in the fleet, viz., the worst that ever I knew in the Province. For this county, D. Lloyd, I. Wilcox, Gr. Jones, Joshua Carpenter, Francis Rawle, John Roberts, Robert Jones, and Samuel Richardson, all bad but the last, and he very rough. In Chester County, that used to supply us with the best, they are much of the same stamp, and Bucks was never good of late. What provoked the people was chiefly the Act for altering the money, and yet of itself 'tis really a good one; next the tax, and lastly

a dissatisfaction at some other things I've formerly mentioned. What may be expected from these people is easy to imagine. I fear further remonstrances and addresses, and that D. Lloyd will now be able to get that letter of his recognized for the Act of the Assembly of the Province, which would have been effectually prevented, had thou sent it over to us, that the last Assembly could have had it by that means, or could they've procured it by any other. They unhappily lost a great deal of time at their first sitting; and as soon as the Laws were published, they found they had so greatly disobliged the country, that they could never be persuaded to proceed upon any thing further, and some things, formerly mentioned, greatly slackened the zeal of several, and strengthened the worst side. I told thee before, that this Assembly I feared would show thee the necessity of a surrender. Some of the best of friends did what they could to give the election a better turn, but could not prevail. We shall use all possible means to make their sessions short and abortive, but the thoughts of the choice makes me very uneasy. I need say no more of it here, only money and good terms might make thee happy, and the country, not otherwise.

The address from the Church party I hope has been diverted. We have very credible accounts that Debreville was on his voyage for York, but his fleet was seized with such a sickness that he was prevented. We have suspicious accounts of Jamaica, but do not credit them. Another Assembly sits at New Castle on the same day with that here, which puzzles us extremely. We use all the means to amuse the people that we can devise, but that Assembly must needs look very odd at home. Their address was put by last year. I know not what temper they may be in now . . . . . .

JONATHAN DICKINSON TO WILLIAM PENN.

JAMAICA, *7br 17th*, 1706.

HONOURED FRIEND:—Thine of 6th-mo. we received on the 29th 5th-mo., and all thine since per Captain Smith and Benjamin Lopdell, on the 16th instant. We shall answer thy request

in prosecuting the design, if it's possible such a sum can do it, which we doubt it will not. To buy a vessel we are certain that sum cannot, there being not vessels enough to answer the trade of the Island. To hire a vessel to search such difficult places, is what we doubt. She must be well man'd, and provided with naval and victualling stores, all which runs high. We are full intended to seek for a little small sloop, which will require a small charge, and endeavour to get some divers. If we can accomplish this he may go seek for the wreck, which, if he finds, may encourage a further progress. But what Captain Smith informs me of Captain Braholt, makes me doubt his information, for as I remember Captain Braholt was upon the quest of a wreck, and meeting with disappointments, became a pirate. And Captain Smith seemed surprised at the sum: he depended it had been greater, when I first acquainted him that I doubted the sum would not answer the intentions of search. As to the man's character, so far as I can learn from others, he seems to be both sober and solid, and very intent upon this adventure.

Our residence is a hundred miles of the market, which is Kingston and Port Royal. But to encourage this design, we have a brother-in-law, a merchant and man of good repute, whom we engaged to our assistance on this occasion, to do the utmost that may be, of which by next pacquet we may be able to render a more ample account. I find Captain Smith wants money to support him; the place of business is greatly expensive to a good husband, which, by what I can learn from Benjamin Lopdell, he seems to deserve the character hitherto.

As to Benjamin Lopdell, I shall take care of him, and prefer him to such business as his genius may deserve, if this island may suit thereto, with his inclinations. At present he is with me, until the business he came upon may require him. He seems to be out of order, having had one brush of a fever already, which went off with bleeding. I shall use my endeavours to support him.

The unity and welfare of Friends is acceptable to us, being joyed to hear thereof at all opportunities. Also the welfare of our aged uncle, whom I salute with dutiful respect. As to my thoughts of returning to Philadelphia, it is so imprinted that I

cannot put it out. As soon as I may have settled my affairs in this island — if the Lord permits me so to do — am fully designed to return, and hope it may be next spring or summer. I have left two of my sons there; one we brought with us, and my wife hath about a month to reckon for a fourth child. Thy last was with inclosed order on thy Secretary James Logan, which we doubt not, and the power against the executors of William Rogers and James Mills we shall prosecute, and advise of our proceedings therein.

Worthy friend, please to accept mine and wife's salutation of pure love to thee and thine. I am thy faithful and affectionate friend, JONATHAN DICKINSON.

COPY of a paper entitled, "The overcharges in several accounts of Philip Ford, between William Penn and him, which were kept and written by Philip Ford's own hand; with the interest thereof, computed at the same rate and time, as in Philip Ford's own accounts, viz., every 6 months, and sometimes sooner, at 8 per cent."

To *Philip Ford*,.....*Debt'r.*

In Folio. 34. 21st Mar. 1684–5.	To an overcharge of £500 7*s.* said to be paid to himself for advance money —according to custom of merchants. And salary at 6 per c., which, with the interest thereof to 29 7br, 1696, amounts to.....	£1235 : 10 : 5½
In another account:		
18. 21 : 7br, 1685.	To an overcharge of £48 4*s.*, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, amounts to.....	114 : 10 : 1
14. 21 Mar. 1685–6.	To an overcharge of 48 : 4 : 3¾, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to	110 : 2 : 8½
20. 21 : 7br, 1686.	To an overcharge of 51 : 7 : 3, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to	112 : 16 : 4¾
25. 21 : Mar. 1686–7.	To an overcharge of 52 : 11 : 4¾, interest money, and,	
11 : Apr. 1687.	To an overcharge of 6 : 6 : 9½, interest money, which, in the whole, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, is	123 : 4 : 9¼
	Carried over.....	£1696 : 4 : 5

In Folio.	Brought over from the other side.	£1696 : 4 : 5
25. 11 : Apr. 1687.	To an overcharge of 200 : 2 : 6, for cash paid himself, 6 for 8004 : 17 : 1½, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to	420 : 14 : 3
In another account:		
5. 11 : 8br, 1687.	To an overcharge of 52 : 16 : 7, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to	106 : 15 : 2
7. 11 : Apr. 1688.	To an overcharge of 54 : 18 : 9, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to	106 : 14 : 11¾
8. 11 : 8br, 1685.	To an overcharge of 59 : 8½, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to	106 : 15 : 8¼
10. 11 8br, 1689.	To an overcharge of 61 : 15 : 11½, interest money, and of 193 : 0 : 6, paid himself, £6 for £7720, which, being in the whole 254 : 16 : 5½, with interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to.....	440 : 14 : 2½
11 : Apr., 1689.	To an overcharge of 59 : 8 : 5½, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to	106 : 14 : 9¼
In another account:		
1. 11 : Apr., 1690.	To an overcharge of 63 : 6 : 9½, interest money, which, with the interest thereof included to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to.....	106 : 11 : 9¼
Dit. 11 : 8br, 1690.	To an overcharge of 65 : 17 : 5½, interest money, which, with the interest thereof included to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to	104 : 12 : 0
Dit. 11 : Apr., 1691.	To an overcharge of 68 : 10 : 2, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to.	105 : 4 : 7½
Dit. 11 : 8br, 1691.	To an overcharge of 71 : 04 : 11½, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to.	105 : 5 : 7
Dit. 11 : Apr., 1692.	To an overcharge of 74 : 01 : 11½, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to.	104 : 18 : 6½
	Carried over.....	£3511 : 6 : 00

In Folio.	Brought over from the other side....	£3511	6	00
Dit. 11 : 8br, 1692.	To an overcharge of 77 : 1 : 3, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to.	105	5	7¾
Dit. 11 : Apr., 1693.	To an overcharge of 80 : 2 : 10¾, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to.	105	5	4
2. 11 : Oct., 1693.	To an overcharge of 83 : 7 : —, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to.	105	5	5½
Dit. 11 : Apr., 1694.	To an overcharge of 86 : 13 : 8½, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, amounts to.....	105	4	8½
Dit. 11 : 8br, 1694.	To an overcharge of 90 : 3, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to.....	105	4	7
Dit. 11 : Jan., 1694–5.	To an overcharge of 46 : 17 : 7, interest money, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to.	53	13	1¼
In another account:				
11 : June, 1696.	To an overcharge of 265 : 4, for interest money, and by an error of £1385, for land sold in Pennsylvania of William Penn's, being in the whole 1650 : 4 : —, which, with the interest thereof to 29 : 7br, 1696, amounts to.....	1690	2	6½
29 : 7br, 1696.	To an overcharge of 61 : 6 : 8½, interest money.....	61	6	8½
		£5842	14	1
	To the simple interest of the total 5841 : 13 : 10½ from 29 : 7br, 1696, to 29 of 7br, 1706, at £6 per cent, is	£3505	00	3½
		£9347	14	4½

NOTE.—The figures on the outside of the margin respect only the folios or pages of the several accounts of Philip Ford, in which these overcharges are contained.[1]

[1] Legal interest in England, from the Restoration to 12th Queen Anne, was 6 per cent. per annum; therefore Philip Ford took illegal interest

COPY OF A PAPER INDORSED "THE PROPRIETOR'S CASE."

WHEREAS, William Penn hath, upon an entire confidence, under his hand signed, sundry accounts, depending between him and his late steward, Philip Ford, ... very much to his own prejudice, as can be made appear by many undeniable instances and objections; yet for peace' sake and in order to an accommodation to the whole matter in difference, William Penn will confine himself, and only insists upon those articles in which he expects relief, without unravelling the whole account, and doubts not but all men of honour and conscience, understanding, and judgment, will think them to be most just and reasonable.

First. Philip Ford charges his old master and friend for money advanced eight per cent. interest, which is two per cent. beyond what the law allows.

William Penn is willing to pay six per cent., and denies an abatement of two per cent., which amounts to

£4040 : 4 : 6 overcharge.

Second. He charges William Penn with 6*d.* in the pound, or two and one-half per cent., provision or commission money for receiving and paying, which he adds to the principal entry every six months, making W. P. to pay 6*d.* per pound six or seven times over for the same money, and charges eight per cent. interest upon that also, which amounts to a vast sum in the whole account, and being very unreasonable and severe, William Penn desires relief therein, which amounts to.....£3302 : 1 : 1

Thirdly. And whereas William Penn mortgaged the Province of Pennsylvania to the said Ford for his security, reserving a liberty to sell untaken up lands in the Province, and had his consent thereto, as can be made appear; and having sold lands to the value of £2000, of which he paid him six hundred odd pounds, to lessen his debt with him, he makes William Penn debtor for

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in charging 8 per cent., and interest upon interest, by calculating it every 6 months. This was enormous; but W. Penn signed and confirmed so often Philip Ford's accounts, that the Court of Chancery would not open them.

This was the source of W. Penn's difficulties — he cared little for money matters, except when he was pressed; he was involved in his abstractions. — *Note by* Mr. JOSHUA FRANCIS FISHER.

the remaining part, which is £1385, which he adds to his former accounts, as if he had advanced so much more money, and charges William Penn.....£2354 : 14 : 6

9697 : 00 : 1

Eight per cent. interest makes interest principal in six months; how unjust and unreasonable this is, let all honest men judge!

The charging of eight per cent. interest upon interest, from almost the beginning of his accounts, allowing little or no interest at all for greater sums for William Penn's accounts, under that equitable consideration which to have done would have reduced the interest on his account to a balance at least.

Philip Ford received of William Penn.....	£17,800
Paid for him.....	16,200
Balance.....	£1,600

Note. That by Philip Ford's receiving £1,659, by his order and for his account, William Penn hath overpaid him all the principal money he did ever advance for him; and that which they now demand of William Penn, and for which he is now under confinement, is only for the abovesaid unlawful, unreasonable interest, and provision or consideration money for receiving and paying the interest upon it as above said, together with the article of £1385 upon the sale of lands as above, and interest of eight per cent. upon it also. If William Penn could be [righted] in these wrong charges and oppressions, he is ready and willing to pay even more than the balance due to him.

To conclude, the reason why William Penn submitted himself so readily to their unnatural confinement of him to the fleet, is not that he is incapable or unable to pay[1] . . . . to the full, but the demands upon him from his prosecutor being three times the value justly.[1] . . . . .

We cannot, from regard to his family, comply with it, since the validity and[1] . . . . . which is here asserted, he can affirm to be true, and made appear by divers of his friends and others of eminency, who have inspected and scrutinized the account.

[1] [Some words are here wanting in the original. — EDITOR.]

The Fords demand above..... £14,000
The overcharges..... 9,697

Balance..... £4,303

Which, and more, he is willing to pay for accommodating the matter.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *October the 12th*, 1706.

Honoured Governour:—I hope by this same opportunity to be larger; but at present send this only to inform thee, that, according to what I hinted in some of mine by the fleet, our election on the first instant has proved the worst that ever I knew for the place. . . . . Many Friends endeavoured to give the election a better turn, but it was found impracticable. I shall say no more here; but that if thou hastens not to surrender, I fear thou wilt find it less in thy power to do it advantageously; for these people will do all in theirs to prevent thee. They want the whole power in their own hands, which is not to be expected under the Crown. I am,

Thy most obedient servant, J. L.

I have but a few minutes allowed me for this, which makes me so short.

Pray be pleased also to consider the confusion we are under, in having another Assembly for the Territories at the same time, and what foundation they have to make laws on.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

9br, 26th-day, 1706.

HONOURED GOVERNOUR: — Inclosed is a copy of my last but one, which one was but a few lines, hinting a small part of the other. Since that I can only inform thee that both Assemblies are sitting. That of the Province have been till this time, upon a law for establishing courts, but are likely to make very little of it. In the bill they proposed to the Governour they were for making all Judges and Justices to continue — *dum se bene gesserint* — or to be displaced only at the request of the Assembly, and for giving fines directly to the Queen for the support of Government — as all forfeited recognizances especially — except those that went to the City of Philadelphia, whose powers they enlarged to a very great degree — almost as much as by that bill thy son brought over. This bill is all we have as yet seen from them, and at length we believe the matter must be settled by an ordinance, for they seem not of a temper to agree to anything of that kind that's reasonable. What made us mostly incline to have it done by Act of Assembly was the hope of procuring a salary for Judge Mompesson; but that we now see is in vain. We have had no quarrel with them yet; only sent them the Governour's and Council's objections. But how the whole will issue, cannot be fully foreseen, tho' we have reason to expect very little that's favourable. In the other, at New Castle, they are for re-enacting all those that are repealed by the Queen — at least as many as please them — with many new ones added. They have prepared a bill for building a fort at New Castle, to which all vessels coming into the river shall pay a quarter or half a pound of powder per ton: for our own vessels a quarter, and for strangers half a pound, of which the practice with us is 4*s.* per 100 by the barrel, but by retail, in the cheapest shops, is 5*s.* per lb. Their Assembly is violent upon it, and they use the same language there the Scots do in relation to England, that if their Governour will not agree to such acts as are for their interest, lest he should disoblige those of the Province, they must take care to provide themselves with such as shall be under no hardship.

At a conference appointed last 7th-day, between some members of Council and the Representatives of New Castle County, I very strenuously insisted on it — but there was none to back me — that the King's grant for the Province was so absolute, and all passages into and out of it so fully granted, that nothing less than an Act of Parliament, or their own consent, could lay any imposition upon them, and that they had as good tax the merchants of Philadelphia to pay for the goods in their stores, as their vessels that only passed by them. But 'tis all in vain. Unless they can obtain all they desire, they think themselves heinously wronged, and the Governour is severely pinched on both sides. They are carrying on some other unaccountable Acts, of which one is, that all their officers shall live among themselves, even the Councils and Attorney-General. Thus they drive on as furiously as a true Scotch humour can make them. 'Tis managed by some of the chief at New Castle, who hope to make that town the centre of trade for these counties, who, were it possible, would even lay the penny per pound on all tobacco coming from thence to Philadelphia. Both these Assemblies will be mischievous. The consequence of that Act for the fort and powder-money will be either to bring the matter to a perfect war between Philadelphia and New Castle, or, if the Governour assents not to it, to send over the Act to the Lords of Trade, with a complaint that they cannot be allowed to secure themselves in the way that all other governments take. And how odd an Act passed by those who never had any such power granted them from the Crown, will appear at home, may be easily judged, and I request thee to consider.

We are told here that some proposals Philip Ford has made have put a stop to thy treaty with the Lords; but I can never believe that any Minister, much less the Queen, would hearken to anything on so villanous a foundation. But it is much to be feared thy backwardness to make known thy case will hurt thee, as it has formerly been thy greatest disadvantage. I hope that this will be the last good opportunity of writing this winter, that so there may be none of sending home such things, either from New Castle or this place, as may be injurious, 'till thou

canst have time to settle matters better with the Crown, which if thou dost not now, I much fear the opportunity will be wrenched out of thy hands. It seems to be the one thing that requires thy whole attention and application, for when once our case comes to be thoroughly known, we shall be found scarce worth the accepting, and I really am of opinion that the thing now drove at by the Assembly is to disable thee to make any terms to thy own advantage.

I once more shall give it positively as my opinion, that thou wilt daily find more and more inconveniences to arise from hence, that will grievously obstruct thy proceedings, and that if thou defers a treaty, thou wilt be in great danger of quite losing the opportunity. I do really think the present Assembly is mischievously bent against thee, and in the Lower Counties 'tis in vain to plead thy interest, for they take that to be always repugnant to theirs. Ours here contend for the whole power and leave the Governour only a name; and they aver 'tis their right from thy first Charter granted them in England, which should be obligatory upon thee. These are melancholy stories, but as they are most true, so they may serve to put thee upon the only remedy, which, if not applied before next summer, I much fear the consequences. I am fully fixed upon coming over, for we have nothing now in property affairs to do.

9th-mo 30th.—[In continuation.]—We have this afternoon received the inclosed address from the Assembly, which will sufficiently show thee their temper. The first of the two articles exhibited against me, is, that I concealed the Lord's objections to some of the laws. I received them the day they mention which they came to know by my indorsement on them. I presented them immediately to the Governour and some members of the Council that were of the Assembly, but they were not thought very fit to be communicated. However, when the repeal came, the Assembly were so very earnest to know all the objections, that they could be detained no longer, and they were at length presented to the last Sessions of the last year,

but no further notice then taken of them. The other, of advising the Governour to an ordinance, undoubtedly is thy right to do, and no more to be fixed on me, than any other member of the Council, who were all unanimous in the opinion, and I believe is not to be disputed, for the Charter is express in it. Two opportunities of conveyance immediately present to send these by; but the papers that have past are so prolix that it is impossible to have them copied, tho' inclosed with what I have mentioned in this letter will be sufficient to inform thee. The last House and I were entirely friends, because they were thine; and because the present is not so, is the only reason they treat me thus, for I have given no other occasion. Upon the whole, I can say but this, that I firmly believe if thou usest, not without any manner of delay, the warmest endeavours to bring matters to an issue and put it out of their power to hurt thee, they will long before their year is over disable thee to serve thyself with the Crown. I really apprehend an address to the Queen, begging their privileges may not be made a market of; but if thee thinks it fittest that the Government should be in her own hand, to [take?] them freely, for what is treated for is theirs, and not thine, and thou hast already made more of the grant than was thy due. The very recital of this seems so heinous, that I could scarce persuade myself to mention it in my ink. Yet 'tis better to be thought of beforehand, and prevent the effects, than by as dangerous security or postponing find them, when 'tis too late. Thou hast many friends here that should be considered, but pray consider thyself first, and then they may come in. What I've mentioned in the inclosed copy of the 5th-mo. 7th, may perhaps be well worth thy thoughts — I mean as to the Queen. I give thee the best of mine, and must say I scarce expect after this to be capable of serving thee, for what I write hereafter will, I fear, come too late, if even this itself does not so. If all thy interest at Court can afford thee a speedy and full opportunity with the Queen, it should be forced, and get her Royal word for something or other that cannot be recalled. As for my own part, I value them all not one farthing; besides, 'tis not me they strike at. I will only add, that in the worst of our former Assemblies we had seven or eight honest men of good

sense, who were thy friends, that we could advise with, and that retarded their proceedings; but in the present we have not one left, so that we can know nothing, and fear mischief is done already. I shall now conclude.

Thy most obedient servant, J. L.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, 10*br the 20th*, 1706.

HONOURED GOVERNOUR:—The foregoing are copies of what I've sent relating to our Assemblies. The last was sent hence by way of Jamaica, this by Barbadoes, lest the other should miscarry going thither. But I now find, by the same conveyances, the remonstrances came to thee, and to G. W., &c.; for two or three days ago they put their votes into the Coffee-House, in which it appears they were ordered to be sent, by several ways. The whole House, we suppose, has now agreed to the greater part, if not all that was contained in the former, with additions of what has since occurred, and that, as their language runs, cannot be remedied here. Seeing they have publickly owned such a thing, all proper measures will be taken to oblige them to produce a copy, which could I obtain, I would here draw up an answer upon the spot. But what I have heard of is, the great promises at first, and especially thy grant of almost all the Government to the people — especially thy reserving to thyself but a sole vote. But 'tis baseness to insist on this, for had that stood, I affirm all laws so made had been entirely invalid by the Royal Charter; for it was those and thy letters that were to make the laws — with the consent of the people — and if not so made, there would be no laws at all; for thou couldst not alter the King's grant.

As to *Philadelphia lot quit-rents*, I affirm that by the original concessions in England thou wast under no obligation to give the townstead only to order the liberty land, now so called, and whatever expectations were given of any such thing, they were given here after thy arrival, and the terms were doubtless then

accepted of otherwise. Why did they receive Patents? Presently after the town was laid out, with those quit-rents reserved in them. . . . . I write in extreme haste by this opportunity given us by a sudden expected thaw, which has opened the river. As to what comes nearer the Governour's commission, Judge Mompesson, and all the rest of the members of Council, have given it under their hands, that the reserve signified nothing. I'm sure it was designed only for property matters in Col. ———[1] commission. I know not how it happened otherwise, but by Col. Quarry we received another, but the Governour has not published it at the market-place, believing it needless, and our Assembly will know nothing that tends to justify thee, unless 'tis forced into them. As to the Sheriff of Philadelphia for the first year, viz., after 8br, 1704, the Governour kept him in for the sake of the militia, which he feared would drop without him, for before that time he was duly elected. In 8br, 1705, Jno. Budd and B. Wright were elected, and the latter had the place and held it for above three months; but refusing to collect the tax, he laid down, and the other was legally put in his stead. Last Assembly a law was past to make the elections annual; but in the close there is a proviso in these words: "That no election shall be made for any Sheriff or Coroner before the time limited for those who are at present in those offices respectively is expired." B. Wright was in at that time, and the time limited for him was three years, for he was chose by the Charter, and therefore, till that time is expired, no election can be made. Also, tho' it be true that the people's right was thwarted two years ago, yet since that it has not, and that was purely the Governour's act, and not thine. As to licenses, the late law for the impost settles the fees, and they are observed. If they complain — for I think those heads I've heard talkt of — that the Governour grants them to whom he pleases, tho' thou hadst made a grant that it should be upon the recommendation of the Justices, I answer, 'tis generally false. There has been a dispute indeed between the Justices and the City Aldermen, about recommending in the town. But this year the Governour would

[1] [Name illegible. — EDITOR.]

receive no recommendations, but from those of the City at first; and when it came to, it was thought, with a design only to try him, they would not continue two or three that they had recommended before, and nothing was objected against them; which made him resolve, rather than to be imposed upon, to license them without any renewed recommendation, seeing they had them the year before, and the law requires no such thing as a new one every year, and therefore 'tis not violated. If they complain of debauchery growing upon us, 'tis not altogether groundless; but I dare affirm 'tis more owing to a decay of sincerity among professors than all that's done by the profane. As to the Governour himself, he encourages disorders of late by his example, or in a public capacity, as little as most men in the place, and never did it much, if at all. However, that would lie only at his door, were it so. The same of the alarm; but that was unhappy.

For property matters, their charges are groundless. Thy Commissioners, I think, have as full power as thou canst give them. Witness our commission, of which thou hast a copy sent 1702, as I remember. If they complain of them, I declare I know not any one occasion. There is not a man in the Assembly, that I know of, who has one demand upon us, but what he may have for asking. Nay, more; I know not of anything that e'er any one representative can ask, except one patent that J. Hoodt has not yet got, tho' it has lain ready for him above these five years, being signed by thyself before thy departure. Yet refusing the people their right has often been talkt of in Assembly; but when enquired into, none will give instances, and much less take measures, if such things really were, to apply to the Commissioners to have the complaint redressed. The whole business is, they must have faults to find; the matter is not to redress grievances, but to find or make them, that they may serve for balls against thee. The last Assembly was very easy, and thought themselves, as well as they modestly could wish, they could find not one of these oppressions; and yet they were men far exceeding these for sense, estate, and figure, every way, and were all friends in unity, but J. Swift the Baptist, unless J. G. be excepted against. But these present Gallimaco fry (such

a mixture as was never here in Assembly known before) are the men it seems that are to manage in the name and for the interest of Friends, when in reality they are neither of them, nor the Church, but the leaders of them made up of that bitter spirit raised by the foam scattered by Geo. Keith at the time of the separation; and that wither'd, &c., which thou canst describe better than I.

But while I mention the last Assembly, there were two bills, than which perhaps may have been also made a subject of complaint: the one about attests, which they did obtain, but with great difficulty, for all the members of Council [which were] of the Church were against it, and four members being taken off by J. G. of the Assembly, there were no Friends but T. S., G. O., and myself left. T. supposed it was upon another account; G. O. would say nothing, so that the whole burthen at the board lay upon me alone; and it was the hardest laboured of anything that ever I was concerned in. All the Assembly were bent upon it, for T. S. has nobody on his side in that point here. However unfit were that affirmation for Friends in England, yet here, where such a rotten or insensible generation shelter themselves under the name, there is a necessity for a greater security. The other is a bill to enable religious societies to buy and sell land; here is Sh. violently interposed even by an address from their vestry. The Governour was exceedingly troubled, for he desired in himself that it might be granted, believing it perfectly reasonable; but he was loath to incur the bishop's displeasure. He sent for J. Mompesson's opinion upon it, but I never yet knew his answer, and the matter has lain in suspense ever since. This has troubled many. Perhaps they may complain, also, that the Property Act is dropt and not re-enacted, which, I think, was too great a neglect in that Assembly, that by some means or other they did settle it. But we would not agree to all that was contained in that bill sent up to us, but proposed to re-enact the same thou hadst not assented to before, which would have been of value; or, if they would not accept of that, we proposed to refer the matter to thee, and send by the first opportunities. Accordingly we did by two ways; but I fear neither of them came to thy hands, for one of the vessels, I think, was lost, and the other taken — but

am not sure. I wish with all my heart they had it, for I think 'tis the people's due. I mean not as they proposed it to us, but as we to them. But the present House, we have reason to believe, desire to see nothing mended, only occasions to abuse thee, the leaders of them mean. How such an occasion came to be made, will be there wondered at. The causes were briefly these, as I have hinted most of them before, in mine of the 6th of 8br, now also sent. The members of the last were quite tired out, and scarce one of them would serve. The Act for altering money, to which pray let friend Norris speak, gave very great offence; then the grant of a supply; the first of which we reckon to be the cause of the scarcity of money, that in reality was owing only to the decay of trade increasing among us. These, with some other disaffections formerly hinted at, angered the lower rank, and the better reckoned the last Assembly had done so much, there was very little left for another to do, and therefore it availed not much who or what kind of people were chosen. Yet in Philadelphia better endeavours were used; but the one side was industrious, and there would not enough of the other themselves. Add to all this the change of the method of electing, which, in my opinion, somewhat contributed.

I am doubtful the assaults to invalidate anything that I might send over, have also attackt me, for I cannot believe their late unaccountable resolves were designed for any other end. I have drawn up a long and full answer, but cannot possibly get a copy by this opportunity. I can only say, in brief, that I am attacked chiefly for thy sake; and what they charge me with is either groundless or false. There never was any concealment of the objections, and what they allege in that is all positively false. In the other, nobody advises the Governour to establish the Courts by an ordinance. If the Assembly will agree to an Act, without forcing the Governour to grant away, what he cannot, the whole perquisites of the government, fines, forfeitures, and license money, to consent to which would be knavery. They have also brought me in for a subverter of the people's rights, in another vote about the Sheriff's place, tho' I am as innocent of it as I was seven years ago; but to blacken me was necessary. Yet I hope to have Justice.

'Tis endless writing on these perplexing heads, but I would fain inform thee of all things necessary there to be known. Pray consult I. N. often; he has a good head, and his presence there will be happy to thee, for he is well acquainted. I. S. talks also of coming over; I wish he would. His father-in-law is not kind, as was expected, having scarce given anything yet; but [I. S.] shews himself very honourable and true, as the other is vile.

I thought to have closed here, but must now take the other sheet to inform thee that we spent all last week at New Castle, and ended the Assembly there. They have past seventy-nine laws, re-enacting most of all the old ones, and adding some very few new. But the Act for a fort is past; for there was no diverting it without putting them upon complaining, that tho' they were willing to build a fortification at their own expense, yet under thy administration they could not have leave to do it. However, I did what I durst with any safety, and the Governour put them entirely, by any powder-money for vessels belonging to any part of the river, but all others are to pay half a pound for every time. This indeed, I think, may bear some complaint, when 'tis put in execution; but it is to be built when and where the Governour pleases to lay it out; for that sentence he got crowded in, by which the matter will be delayed, I hope, till thou hast cleared thy hands of all, which I think is now the only thing to be laboured. Those Lower Counties, that is the chief of them, and especially at New Castle, are not at all well affected to thee or thy administration. Yet they are men of honour when compared to those vile vipers who swell with poison against thee, and would wound thee equally deep in thy temporal and religious character.

The Assembly had not last week resolved by their votes on any address to the Queen; but those that are of their council have dropt something to that purpose, and say 'tis fully designed, and the aim it seems is, what I've mentioned to desire her to take them into her own hands. My thoughts are full upon this; but I cannot take room to express them, only that if those men, G. W., W. M., &c., move in their behalf, and it be brought to meeting, as it ought at once, they must certainly hurt themselves

exceedingly, when the persons are known as make up the House, when they are given to understand that this is the very leaven of G. Keith left among the people at his separation, now fermenting up again, and that these proceedings are contrary to the mind of honest Friends, as appears by their letter in 1705; and especially if any travelling Friends who have been here, M. Banister especially, who is a discreet good woman, can be got to speak their knowledge, this cannot but defeat their measures, one should think; and then when it is made appear that, to thy ruin, thou hast been continually fighting the quarrels of the honest people here, and are turned upon and bit by the viprous spirit that poisons the bosom 'tis warmed by, a few recrements of the profession gathering other filth to them, and misleading some honest-meaning men with false colours and pretences, I say then, if I might advise, I would proceed vigorously in the surrender, treating, if possible, at once with the Queen and the Lord Treasurer, thy friend, and let the formalities after be managed by the Lords Commissioners. This will be difficult, doubtless, but 'tis a short cut, and thy story but once fully told, there, I beg leave to fancy, might open a way against all opposition. But I very much doubt that the Devil has once again obtained a permission to make his range, like a woodman, and take to himself all the unsound and hollow or rotten-hearted. Had I little more time I should endeavour to have a letter from Friends here, to those there concerning these matters; but we are weak, and I doubt [if] a very much blessed people. There is one thing I should mention of myself, viz., that travelling Friends, if inquired of about me, will give no good account of my strictness, but if they are just they will say all I desire they should; for I am willing that all who know me should also know that I neither am, nor ever was, a strict professor, and I will always make my outside appearances agree with what I really know myself to be; for I loathe hypocrisy. But I think I can defy the world to tax me with an ill thing. I wish I could do so in all points whatever, with myself. This is only to speak for myself in case I should be spoke of there. If I prove not good, as I hope I shall prove honest in all its significations, religion shall never suffer by me, as it does by many a false villain.

I shall be thought in this letter, I doubt [not], to ramble widely, but it cannot now be avoided, for I must do it more yet, in telling thee, if thou holds out to read so far, that one thing more, perhaps, is complained of, viz., the Governour formerly taking £5 for a wine license, and 50 shillings for beer, which made £7 10 shillings for both; for advancing the registers of vessels, and taking money for let-passes, viz., 10 shillings for each. But this was because the country in two years' time gave him not one farthing; and all this was not equal by much to what's taken in several other places. But all this was dropt immediately when the country gave money. The licenses, indeed, were reduced by the Law of Imposts, but the other was done voluntarily.

When 'tis argued against them, that 'tis unjust to desire all the perquisites of government from thee, they argue thou art surrendering and therefore 'tis no loss to thee; that if thou refuses to part with them thus, 'tis only to sell them to the Crown, and that, they think, they ought to prevent. They want, in short, to rob thee of everything that way, and so leave thy Governour only to a dependence on the Country or thy quit-rents; and so either starve them, or else, if they give money, they must have all they can ask in exchange; that is, the whole power, which, when obtained, they will want no Governour at all.

The House still sits here, and is like to continue, for the Governour will have them to pass an Act for the Courts, if possible, though he can do it by an Ordinance; but then the Pleas and Process can't be revived. He and the Council would agree to any reasonable bill, so thy rights are not given away; and if they let the Country suffer, they must be exposed for it. 'Tis now almost ten weeks since they sat down first, yet not one bill sent to the Board but that one, which consists of no less than twenty-one whole sheets of paper, wrote close, and mostly on both sides. By that time the river opens again after winter, I hope to send thee, before I come myself, a copy of all the papers. But 'tis endless quires of paper that I and my sorry clerk write. I must now for this time conclude. .

Thy obedient servant, J. Logan.

Postscript.—I thought to have added no more; but having been abroad in town since writing the foregoing, I find the people in a very great ferment about the law past at New Castle for building a fort, by which all vessels are obliged to call there, and all that belong not to the river to pay powder, as has been mentioned before. I had but one opportunity there to speak to it, and then opposed it so earnestly that I never had another. The Governour was there several days without me, and in that time had settled it. But I cannot be readily heard there; they were very eager to have me out of office for those Counties, and had prepared a bill for it, but a clause about paying the Council made it miscarry. This will be of very fatal consequence, for this town will sooner have their vessels fired at than obey; and indeed 'twill breed so much disaffection to the Governour, that the Assembly will be much strengthened; besides that, the power of a New Castle law will now be brought on the stage. I hope, if not done by this time, that a very speedy surrender upon good terms for thyself and those that are honest, will put a stop to all. All things here seem to conspire to a necessity; I wish they may there to an opportunity for it. Pray let not me suffer in the blame, for some of my last summer's letters, if considered, may excuse me. I must add that in the surrender, provision should be made for all arrears due to thee of fines and taxes, and so conclude as before. J. L.

THOMAS LORD FAIRFAX AND COMPANY TO CAPTAIN EDWARD SMITH.

Feb'y 18th, 1706–7.

CAPT. SMITH:—We have received all your letters, and are very well pleased with the account you have given us of your reception by the Governour and the merchants there, and of the great probability of your success, which we doubt not but you have improved to the best advantage, and are already in possession of it.

We are no less pleased with your own prudent conduct and behaviour, and heartily thank you for it. You will not think it a compliment when we tell you that we were much concerned at

your sickness, and as much rejoiced at your recovery, when you consider our whole expectations depend upon your safety; but whatsoever the success, we shall always value you for your integrity and fidelity to us, which we could hope for but from few men. Capt. Smith, we agree with you that the wreck being found by the sloop is a great encouragement, and we wish and hope you got some of those mariners with you, and found some way to stop the sloop's returning to Jamaica, before you got thither. We are not a little disturbed at the difficulties you have been under for money for your private use, and have made Justice Butler a present of a share, for the kindness you had by his means from the Governour of Barbadoes, who died in his passage for England. We likewise desired Mr. Penn to write, and he did write to Mr. Dickinson to furnish you with more money than the £300; and we hope you found some purchasers of shares to serve your own as well as our public occasions. The patent being so near expiring, and Dearlove's and Mr. Brown's party having publickly declared that there was no wreck, and the whole undertaking was a trick, we could not dispose, nor have disposed of any one of your two shares, though we endeavoured it heartily; but as soon as our new patent for three years more, from the time the former expired, which is already granted, and is now with the Attorney-General, shall be passed, we hope the undertaking will have more credit, and we shall be able to sell those two shares for your wife. Assure yourself we have a full sense of your honesty and diligence, and that you shall find us,

Your grateful and faithful friends,

Fairfax,
Wm. Penn,
Rich. Rooth,
Rob't West,
W. Russell.

Pray give all our services and thanks to Capt. Gomerson, and tell him we will not be wanting in our acknowledgments to him for his kindness to you, and assistance to our interest. As soon as our patent is passed the great seal, we will send new instruments for shares to the Governour and Mr. Dickinson at Jamaica, and execute the like to your wife here.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *1st-mo. 2nd*, 1706–7.

Honoured Governour: — On the 9th of December last I gave thee, by my letter, an account of our mischievous Assembly's proceedings. They sat till yesterday, excepting an adjournment of five weeks, but have not agreed so much as upon the bill for establishing of Courts, which obliged the Lieutenant-Governour, by advice of the Council, to settle them by an ordinance made exactly conformable to their own bill, as far as was necessary for the end proposed, only leaving out those other heads that they insisted upon — but were not essential to that end, and such others as required a law to make them valid, with which the said bill is largely stored. They have carried their opposition so far as to deny the Governour's power to establish courts without them — but last week that of Chester was held very regularly, and with great unanimity among the people, who attended in greater numbers than had been known for many years before. In this County we shall have one held, I believe, this week; but I much doubt the County of Bucks, being stored above all others with malignant spirits. On the 24th of December the Governour and Council sent their reasons for their objections against the bill a second time, and to prevent the loss of more, proposed a conference immediately. But instead of this, they spent four days in drawing up an insolent answer, and then, without giving any prior notice, adjourned themselves for six weeks. The Governour let them stay at home five of these, and then called them, requiring them to come to a conference without further delay, to settle the objections. Accordingly they came, and when it had lasted above an hour, D. Lloyd keeping his seat generally when he spoke, and latterly altogether, the Governour very mildly told him 'twas his duty to stand, as others did, when he spoke. Lloyd refused, and the Governour proceeded in the debate, but some minutes after spoke to him a second time about the same. Upon this the other rose and broke up the conference, and said as he was affronted, he could not stay any longer. This trifle cost a whole week in messages. The House disapproved of his proceedings, but would not desert their

Speaker. They at length espoused his cause, and pleaded an equality between themselves and the Governour, which he found himself obliged in duty not to waive, as being a direct affront to the Queen's authority — yet still pressed them to renew the conference and to order their Speaker to acknowledge his error; but they refused, and so it entirely fell. They are now drawing up addresses to the Queen and Lords of Trade, requesting their assistance against the many infractions made upon their privileges; and are to complain of the many artifices that have been used to trepan them over hither, and then violate all promises made before the Charter and printed in England. D. Lloyd pleaded to the Governour to be still in force, being vacated by means of the Lower Counties, who were no parties to the King's grant. They have treated me with the greatest malice and bitterness, but, as it happens, to my advantage and their shame, with equal folly and nonsense. After many votes against me, declaring me to be a public enemy, a subverter of the people's rights, &c., they at length brought the matter to an impeachment, by which thou wilt find all that the whole Province can lay to my charge, and I have some reason to be pleased that they can say no more. This was given in but two or three days ago, and I have not had time to answer it yet, but intend to do it fully, and in that shall have a good opportunity of exposing their injustice to thee and baseness in their whole proceedings.

Postscript.

1st-month 3rd.

Thou wilt doubtless find these things exceedingly unhappy; yet 'tis no more than what might have been expected from their first election. And they have now at length resolved what I hinted in my former letter and before in this, viz., to address the Queen and the Lords of Trade for justice — upon which Col. Quarry, with whom I dined to-day, on purpose to have a full opportunity afterwards of discourse with him, informs me that he has been applied to for his assistance in directing them to the most proper methods.

I was aware of this long ago, and mentioned it to him in the beginning of December last, telling him we would depend on

his honour that he could never countenance anything so base. He pledged that very frankly to me that he would not, and has since very solemnly renewed his protestations of friendship to thee, in which I have good hopes he will prove sincere. We are very intimate, and I frequently visit and dine with him, but he declines being concerned in the Council, alleging 'tis here only a name without a power, and that he can be more serviceable to thee out of it — in which I think he is in the right. He desires to rent Pennsbury for seven years, or till thy arrival, if sooner; which, I think, we have reason to encourage — for the house, without repairs, will soon go to decay, especially when J. Sotcher leaves it, who is impatient to settle on a place of his own.

I have so fully and (what is worse so) tediously given my sentiments of thy affairs in my late letters, that I have nothing new to add to them, only that if the surrender be not agreed on, as I hope it is, it might, I believe, be worth endeavouring to have it done by Act of Parliament — the better to avoid reflections upon thy signing any instrument for it — which Act ought, I think, to repeal all former grants of power in matter of Government; for as the infatuated people of this Province will most certainly bring the greatest scandal upon Friends' profession by their ridiculous contending for more than any others of the Queen's subjects, so they will always while they have power (pray bear with the truth) make the worst use of it. 'Tis talked of as if D. Lloyd were to go over to manage those addresses — I wish it may prove so — and I with him, that we may be taught to know ourselves. I hoped long ere this to have brought my business into a great readiness; but their continual sitting, and so much of these affairs lying upon my hands alone, which with other continual diversions have thrown me far in arrears. I shall endeavour, however, to make a trip this summer, if thy letters, or no other unexpected occurrence block up my way . . . . . .

All hopes of supplies from the people here are over. Our crops have failed last year as well as the preceding, and we are reduced exceeding low. The seasons are strangely altered, for we have had a winter almost wholly open, and much more mild than I have frequently known in England. We have been very unhealthy, but not many have died. The people are strangely

apprehensive of being invaded this year by sea, but I hope the same protection may be yet continued — tho' I think we have lost our pretence to it.

I wrote thee in my former letter to get insured upon the ship *Diligence*, Barth. Penrose, master, burthen about 150 tons, the value of £500 or £600 sterling. She is to be sent from hence to Virginia, there to load, and thence to England, with convoy, directly for London, if any offers; if not, then north about Scotland, and accordingly she ought to be insured from hence to Virginia and thence as aforesaid. But money comes in so very slow that I shall be hard put to it to make good my intentions. However, I shall strain to my utmost. I beseech thee not to be scrupulous in insuring, for if I have any right notion of the matter, 'tis as just and lawful as any other part of trade.

We have compromised the business with Col. Cox, about Salem lands. His claim was found by his deeds agreeing with thine to be good, being upon the mortgages made by Warner to J. Wasse, which thy deeds recite. We are to pay the principal and simple interest only at 6 per cent., which amounts to about £225 of this money, which, when paid, tho' I know not how to raise it, that title will be clear. I shall now only mention once more the necessity of pressing a settlement with the Crown without delay, if not already done, and as money is hard to be got out of the Treasury these strait times, perhaps it may be done out of some fund. But as good opportunities seem to have been slipped, so the affairs now will oblige thee to let no more time be lost, for these men will leave no stone unturned to injure thee. I must conclude.

Thy most obedient servant, J. Logan.

I design by some good opportunity to send over copies of all our proceedings.

Isaac Norris to James Logan.

London, *3d 1st-mo.*, 1706–7.

Loving Friend: — Thine of the 29th 9br. came to hand about a week since, and am grateful for thy account of our family and the other domestic news.

I note what thou writes of our unhappiness in Government, which makes me look mournfully that way. I have been with the Proprietor at his house, and find him not duly apprehensive of the danger of Ford's business, — at least does not think fit to appear so. I urged the confusion we should be in on your side, if there was no guard for those lands sold by the Proprietor, or his, since the date of his deed to Ford, and the reflection that would thereupon arise, more especially for his concealment or silence when there, to his best friends. To this he answered, he was not silent in the lump, as to expense and engagements here, insisting on the approbation of Ford in his sales, and their private understandings, and that he had letters to show for that purpose, besides the equity of redemption and the nature of mortgage, et cetera. For my part I am more apprehensive of this, tho' perhaps 'tis my weakness, than anything else, as to reputation; for as to all the rest, tho' the injury to him may be great, yet the scandal falls t'other way with everybody that thinks.

I find him extremely concerned about other things. That foolish, if not ill-natured, alarm makes a great noise among Friends here. It was got here long before me, and I am so put to it with questions that it is uneasy: How does your Governour please or behave? Was not the alarm designed to expose and out Friends? with some. Others are pressing, for as I cannot vindicate, so I would be careful publickly to arraign, or give my judgment; and silence will not do from me. I wish thou wert here; I'd assign all to thee. The Proprietor's hardship in this matter is, that he is blamed for keeping in such a man, for such a reason as may not appear one to the Government here. I have had a little discourse with him since the receipt of thine. He had appointed a day for my attendance, but did not come, being hindered by the birth of another son, as I since hear, — about 4th-day last. She lies in at Ealing, about eight miles off, and he 's there.

As to the New Castle fort, I presume he has positively forbid the imposition on any [vessels?] but their own. So, I think not to add, presuming, if it be true thou come, this will not meet thee, &c. Thine, Isaac Norris.

James, I fear that odd humour of making the consideration of our[1] Patent to be love and affection — I mean W. P—'s, Jr., —will be injurious to us if Ford gets the day. I charge thee to mend it some way. Since it is upon the right of first purchase, and he is on the list, I am apprehensive it will not stand, unless on that right foot. Tho' I mention it not to William Trent, lest I give umbrage of my fears upon the whole.

JAMES LOGAN TO ———.[2]

[*Postscript.*] *4th of March*, 1706–7.

I have little to add to the above, save that I believe it will be June or July before the ship leaves Virginia, and 'tis probable I may come in her. I would have her insured to Virginia, as well as from thence. I have not time now to write to I. Norris; therefore pray give my dear love to him and his, and let him know, after a sickly winter among children, especially his, are now all in perfect health, but have had their full share with others.

Doct. Moore, with his wife and son, after nine weeks spent here, are returned home to-day with their son Joseph. To-morrow they take Caleb Pusey's in their way, who marries both of his daughters together, the eldest to Jno. Smith of N. England, that lived some little time at S. Preston's; the other to George Painter, at which marriages many more of us are to be present. My dear love to thyself, not forgetting thy consort, tho' unknown.

Thine, &c. J. L.

ISAAC NORRIS TO JAMES LOGAN.[3]

LONDON, *10th of 1st-mo.*, 1706–7.

. . . . . On the sixth inst., being a lovely clear day, I went with Henry Goldney, took a room within two yards of, and

[1] Patent for Williamstadt, now Norriton. — L.

[2] [The letter to which this is a postscript, is on private business. It does not appear to whom it is addressed — probably, however, to John Askew. — EDITOR.]

[3] [From the Norris MSS. — EDITOR.]

opposite to the door where the Queen entered to the Parliament House. Had a fine sight of her, the Lord Godolphin, and the Duke of Marlborough. When they came out again, I had confidence enough to come out and stare the last two full in the face, as they sat in their chairs, reading, which gave me an opportunity of being very near. The Queen then passed the Union, or Onion, as Patrick used to say. If this piece of news be not worth telling, I am at loss to add more than that I am, thy loving friend, Is. Norris.

Isaac Norris to Joseph Pike, in Ireland.

[*Extract.*] London, 18*th* 1*st-mo.*, 1706–7.

After having mentioned William Penn's business with the Fords, nearly as stated in the letter to Jas. Logan, he proceeds: I find him (the Proprietor) extremely embarrassed in other things; his friends, and the best of Friends generally in Pennsylvania, having, by the ingratitude of the Lieut.-Governour, declined their interest and service. There is such an Assembly now that are mischievous, take things by the worst handle, dress things monstrously, and then expose them; and what gives always perfection of ill intention, they address such on this side the water among Friends who are judged by them to be not in the best understanding with him, endeavouring to widen all; and his hardship lies that he cannot retaliate such men in their kind without injuring Friends in general, and his particularly; and this they know, that the wicked alarm, and other things which render his Lieutenant obnoxious to Friends and ungrateful to him, with other things of the kind. I wish I could be in the least instrumental that he might extricate himself. Methinks some of their monied Friends might redeem Pennsylvania and make a good penny out of it, in time, both to them and him. I wish I was able, as willing to be assisting.

After all, I think the Fable of the Palm good in him, "The more he is pressed, the more he rises." He seems of a spirit fit to bear, and rub thro' difficulties; and after all, as thou observes, "his foundation remains." I have been at some meetings with him, and have been much comforted in them, and particularly last 1st-day. . . . . .

Thomas Callowhill to James Logan.

[*Extract.*] Bristol (England), *23d 1st-mo.*, 1706–7.

. . . . . I also fear the issue of that unfortunate business of Philip Ford's. I have very little or no account at all of their proceedings in law, nor a desire to interpose, knowing my own weakness and incapacity, and distance, and that he was not without abler heads near to acquit him. I have seen their accounts stated under both their hands, William Penn's and Philip Ford's, in which, by his easiness and want of caution, as thou observes, he gave the wretch opportunities of his base, barbarous, and wicked extortions that riseth to so great a bulk, which, had they been corrected in time, would not have amounted to the tenth part of what they now are. That little knowledge that I have of it troubles me; yet have I comfort in this, that, though their concerns seem great and exercising, neither him nor my daughter sinks under it; but from the divine Providence have supports to their spirits, and I pray God it may tend to their good, and be instruction to their posterity.

I received letters this week both from the Proprietor and my daughter. They are both and their family in pretty good health — she scarce got out of her confinement, for she was delivered of a son named "Dennis" not full a month since. She has now four sons and two daughters, — I bless God, healthy and hopeful. They are living at a place called Ealing, near London. . . . . .

1707.

James Logan to William Penn.[1]

Philadelphia, 1707.

. . . . . The Assembly have adjourned to the 5th 3d-mo. next. They have not prosecuted their impeachment of me, tho' pressed to it, which is the reason of my delaying my answer. I send the inclosed two papers, containing the Gov'r's objections, and their answers, which will shew the difference and their method of managing.

Upon my having several times desired an insurance of the ship *Diligence*, from hence to Virginia, to load, and thence to London, I must beg leave here to add that from an account of strict orders from England not to suffer any vessels to sail till the fleet goes, which we scarce expect to be any time this year, we are apprehensive that, till we have some assurance that we may get her out sooner, it will not be safe to have her thither for any long time before they sail, lest she be devoured, as many of the last fleet were, by the worm, and perish by it. Therefore it may be convenient to forbear insurance until I give further notice.

I am very desirous to come over myself, and therefore I request that the letters thou art pleased to direct to me be of two sorts: the one of business, to be opened by Sam'l Carpenter, Richard Hill; the other, if there be anything designed only for my own view, to be directed to my own hands only, which, if I come, I shall order not to be opened. I desire, I say, earnestly to come, but would not make any of thy affairs suffer by it here. Pray press the Governour to have a regard to the collecting and receiving such things as arise to thee from the Government, for his application, as matters stand, would be most effectual; and I again request we may be still continued friends, while continued here. James Wasse's son, coming over now, will wait upon thee, if thou please to admit him, and may give thee some particular account of our affairs, and particularly young Capt. Finney.

[1] [This letter was written in the beginning of this year, but we are unable to assign its precise date. — Editor.]

Isaac Norris to William Penn.

London, *2d-mo.* 3*d*, 1707.

Governour Penn — Worthy Friend: — I should be glad were I better able to answer thy request relating to the trade of Pennsylvania, its advantages to England and the Crown. Had I foreseen such an occasion before I left that country, I might, perhaps, have been somewhat better furnished for the estimate; but since thou art still pleased to command my thoughts, I entreat a favourable construction of what I may say thereupon, being under fear that I cannot be exact. Yet to the best of my judgment I shall rather choose to be short of, than beyond the truth.

I presume that the Province consumes annually of the produce and merchandise of England to the value of £14,000 or £15,000 sterling, and this is imported directly from England and the other Plantations, chiefly Virginia, Maryland, Barbadoes, Jamaica, New England, and New York. Returns are made for the same, in part direct to England and partly through the other Plantations, viz., the West India Islands, Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, who take off our provisions and produce.

The direct returns are chiefly tobacco, furs, and skins, which have, for two or three years past, yielded no encouraging prices here, for which reason less of those commodities have been imported from thence, and the more returns made by way of the Plantations above mentioned, 'tis reasonable to presume that upon a peace or advance of those commodities in price, the direct return will increase considerably, of which there already appears some prospect, there being now in England four vessels, two at London and two at Whitehaven, which loaded at Philadelphia, and brought at least seven or eight hundred hhds. of tobacco, besides twenty-five or thirty tons of skins and furs; and I have advice that there are four vessels more likely or intending to come this summer, that may bring eight hundred or a thousand hhds. more.

I shall not presume to say the tobacco of Pennsylvania is of more advantage to England, hogshead for hogshead, than that of Maryland and Virginia. But perhaps 'tis considerably more to

the Crown in proportion, it being mostly of a sort that is spent in England, and heavier than that of Maryland. The account of duties paid, and with drawbacks made on exportation, will be best known from the Custom House, and I am of opinion, if the vessels get well hither, the duties for this year will surmount any year before it.[1]

I think of no more, and if this be of any service to thee, it will be satisfaction and pleasure,

To thy assured friend, ISAAC NORRIS.

SAMUEL PRESTON TO JONATHAN DICKINSON.

PHILADELPHIA, *the 7th of 2d-mo.*, 1707.

DEAR AND MUCH ESTEEMED FRIEND:—I've longed for an opportunity to let thee have the satisfaction of our circumstances, which per the last conveyance hence, viz., James Boyden, who is now returned, as thou had account then, was very disconsolate, myself much indisposed, thy poor Jonathan much worse, who lay many days speechless, and in all appearance no room to expect his life; but through the good favours of Providence, both well and in a good state of health, with the rest of our great family, my poor wife only excepted, who hath been ailing these several months last past. She keeps about mostly, but with much complaining. We doubted not in the least of seeing thee this spring, but now do much question that which is not agreeable to our inclinations, who truly love thee, and should greatly rejoice to see thee completely here. But inasmuch as thou delayed thy coming, pray advise what may be most proper to make thy interest growing — at least not sinking. The dwelling-house standing under the danger of White-

[1] I believe the growth and prosperity of Philadelphia have been almost unprecedented. The following accounts of the Exports of this State and the Tonnage of Philadelphia, are taken from a newspaper, and are for the last year, 1817:

Exports from Pennsylvania, in 1817, were.....	$8,785,592
Registered Tonnage of Philadelphia.....	71,567
Enrolled " "	21,286

L.

pain's great building, now decaying, renders it not safe in the eyes of most men to reside in, therefore, not like to let. The lot, for want of paling, must have been common, and thereby all former labor bestowed thereon lost; but I have got that now paled and well secured. It's a very pretty and pleasant garden. Also the wharf much out of repair: great freshets have injured not thine only, but many others; and when breaches are made without speedy stops, they widen amain; therefore, some layings out must be. Since brother went hence, Joe's let the wharf-store, and hopes to keep that employed . . . . . .

I am sorry thy stock in England [is] less than thou expected, which checks thy thoughts of purchasing what thou once designed for settlement in this Province. That estate of Samuel Carpenter's must be a valuable thing, and will undoubtedly turn to great account. His mills go extraordinary well — both grist and saw mill — and have good customs; also, great improvement of land, and pasturage to admiration, I am told. Here are now with us two worthy men, John Fothergill and William Armstead, who have visited all the coast along from Carolina to eastward of New England, and now here intends first for Bermudas and most of the islands. I queried with them touching Jamaica, and received their answer that it was their design to see that island, and were glad to be informed of thee. They are men of great talents, and have a full commission. May many amongst you have a full assurance thereof in time. Our dear friend John Salkeld is settled near Chester. He has a good-natured, industrious wife, and one child — that a son about five months old. They are low, tho' both laborious and generous. Some Friends have thought of giving them assistance. I dare not say for thee, but have thought thou would add something with others. My last was, this month was a twelvemonth. Then I gave thee account of shame put upon us as per the New Castle folks, of the French invasion, which since, as we then began to guess, find it all an invention of the Government, and instead of atoning for that, he has put a worse affront upon us. 'Twould be tedious to relate. If thou seest Geo. Fitzwater, Maurice Lisle, or our master, and would be informed, ask what becomes of the New Castle law, and what sloop 'twas they fired upon, and thou wilt have some understanding thereof.

Thy account of dear brother Norris, his being in Ireland, was the first we had, tho' next day after the receipt of thine, had from his own hand the full account of the whole voyage, and no assurance of his being got for England, tho' I understand his brigantine was safely arrived at London. We wait with great impatience to hear that of him. . . . . .

I must conclude this, which I find hard to do, for where to stop I am at a loss. Affection leads to freedom, and that often outsteps reason. Excuse what is improper or superfluous on that foot, and I've done when told thee. My dear wife can't write; she is disabled in her hand, with an exceeding pain, to that degree which will hardly suffer her to rest a night. The doctor calls it rheumatism, or wind-gout, I think. She is now under Doctor Johnson's administration for the better. I am, with dear love to self and dear Mary, thy sincere friend and constant well-wisher, SAM. PRESTON.

James Logan remembers his love to thee, &c., and desires me to tell he hath no time to write, otherwise respect enough to prompt him thereto.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, 12*th of the* 2*d-month*, 1707.

HONOURED GOVERNOUR:—The foregoing was designed via Maryland, but mist the opportunity, since which I have received thine of the — 3d-month last, per Captain Palmer, who arrived here but a week ago. Thy great dissatisfaction exprest in it, is no more, I well know, than what the unhappiness of the affairs might too reasonably excite, and what my many tedious letters of last summer can have no way contributed to allay. Yet, after all, if I be made the object of it, after all my struggling and contending for thy interest, making that the chief aim of all my endeavours, with little or no regard to my own, and exposing myself on all occasions to all the attacks of thy enemies, who have always singled me out as their principal butt here, I shall, to say nothing else of it, be more unfortunate than even my enemies themselves could have hoped to see me. I shall only now say

I have discharged a good conscience, and may with some assurance adventure to add that whatever unhappy accidents I may have contributed to prevent or divert, I have not occasioned any one of thy misfortunes; and if I have not been able to remedy them, it was because their force was greater than was possible for any in my circumstances to obviate. It has been my great unhappiness, that ever since thy departure I have had some great difficulties here to struggle with, which like waves have succeeded one another, and which I need not now enumerate. I know not what thou mayst have heard of me, but I know what my own breast tells me, and all I shall crave is, to be tried only by my actions, and that the testimony of those who know me well may be allowed equivalent to theirs, who are either wholly or very much unacquainted; and when it shall be thought fit for me to make room for a more worthy successor, that I may go off only with such a testimony as from such a trial may be found due to me. I seek not nor expect any praise in unfortunate affairs; it would be in vain; and my lease is more particularly attended with disadvantages, in that the faults of others, who are out of my reach, will be imputed to me. In the meantime I shall, with all the small abilities I'm master of, serve thy interest while engaged in it, to my utmost. But I am not Governour, nor am I what Tatham boasted himself to be. I endeavour, however, to maintain as good an understanding as possible, and should be always glad to do it, while under these circumstances, of which, all things else relating to those affairs, I have spoke but too largely in my former late letters.

Thy plea against Ford was no small satisfaction to me, and several others, to whom I immediately shewed it, and as soon as it could be copied made it public in the coffee-house, where I think it has been of service.

My foregoing letter gives too just an account of our Assembly. This opportunity being by a single vessel only, that goes north about, I am not willing to send by her the full accounts of our proceedings with them, which I have almost ready finished, hoping they send nothing this time. How their resolutions of addressing may hold, I can by no means be informed, for they have taken such measures among themselves that they keep all things entirely secret.

My letters generally become so bulky I am ashamed of them, and therefore would avoid repeating the same things over; and as to anything I have wrote upon these affairs, I can only say that I have hitherto found no cause to alter my opinion. A surrender is the only thing that can make thee easy, tho' it will render the country directly the contrary, for they will never be at rest. Now they contend with thee, and when surrendered, if they have no terms, they will think themselves, and not without reason, to be oppressed; if they have, these will be an everlasting occasion of contention with their Governour, unless extremely well secured. The extravagant proceedings of our people will give great strength to the Lord C. against Friends there. He is now sitting in Assembly, at Burlington, in which of twenty-four there are eleven of them, Sam'l Jennings, Speaker. He expects in the Queen's behalf £1500 per annum from them for twenty-one years, and their militia bill being to expire with their present session, he has told them the Queen expects they will, without delay, renew it; and applying his discourse to Friends particularly, first prest them to be unanimous in promoting it, and then informed them that if it were not done they would find such other measures must be taken as would render them much more uneasy; which, 'tis supposed, will be to incapacitate them to serve in assembly or any publick offices, without taking the oaths, as his commission expressly requires; for 'tis by his private instructions only that they have hitherto enjoyed that privilege, and indeed the present bill seems to be a fatal rock in their way, on which they will be in great danger of shipwrecking their liberties, for 'tis much feared this Assembly will be dissolved, and another very different one called. This, strengthened with the infatuated proceedings of our people, may prove exceedingly injurious to Friends in general here. I wish the representations of this place could see it, but those that are more honestly inclined, as doubtless many of them are, have their eyes shut; and the others, there 's reason to fear, have other aims in their view. And what seems to give some signs of a fatality in the case is, that those who have both judgment and honesty, are so lulled asleep, or at least are of opinion they can do nothing. It behooves thee, however, to consider thy

own interest; and though one cannot but have a tenderness for the circumstances of the people, like a parent to a vicious child, yet seeing there is so little regard shewn to thy affairs, 'tis unreasonable to make thyself a sacrifice as thou hast too long been.

I doubt but there are many passages, in my last year's letters, that may have displeased, but there is one particularly I must beg thy pardon for: where I say, Ford's account is no more than what thou once, I believed, thought really to be due; but now by thy plea his proceedings fully appear to have been so base, black and barbarous, that if it were by spending some considerable part of the sum they claim, they ought certainly, by any possible means, be disappointed. But still a Chancery suit is to be dreaded, and if a composition could be had to advantage, it would be happy.

I send thee a copy of the New Castle law for a fort, for which I shall not pretend to account, especially their obliging all vessels not belonging to the river to pay powder-money, having been most heartily against it. But they guarded against me, as their greatest enemy in it, and used their utmost endeavours to have me outed of all offices relating to the Government among them, so that it was not in my power to stem the current.

I'm sure I could never yet see their power to make any law at all,[1] . . . . . it were thoroughly scanned, and so I have often told the Governour from the very beginning, and always advised to proceed no further than to cast a blind before to please them, till those affairs could be better settled. But if their powers were as unquestionable as those of the Province, yet it would most certainly be a manifest infraction upon the Charter here to demand anything of vessels trading to or with us, who are upon another foot. I must again say it were to be wished that the consideration of these things, and a good opportunity of doing it, would[2] . . . . .

[1] [The manuscript is here torn. — EDITOR.]

[2] [The rest of the original manuscript is wanting. — EDITOR.]

Isaac Norris to Joseph Pike.

[*Extract.*] Bristol, 24 *2d-mo.*, 1707.[1]

Dear Joseph Pike:— . . . . . My last from London to thee gave some hopes of bringing that unhappy affair to a reference. I thought I had some influence and had the young man's promise; but upon discourse with him, just before I left London, found him entirely off — insolent and insulting. He has no great depth of his own, but his language bore the mark of his mother's character in cunning caution, or the craft of the lawyers who have not yet reaped their part of the crop; and I am now of opinion they are so cautious of the extravagance of the accounts that they will never suffer them to be scanned, but hold fast the advantages the law seems to give them; so that I see nothing now left but a proposal to lump it, which I intend to hammer at when I get to London, if not done before, it having been discourst between us. I mean honest H. Goldney and some others that are hearty.

Whatever we do, some way must be found to take off their malicious intents, to expose and shew the worst side of the Proprietor's credulity in respect to the sale of lands. I am glad thou hast thought of being at London. I hope nothing will hinder. If money be raised by loan, Ireland must come in, I hope. I would have thee feel the pulse of your wanton moneyists. The whole untaken-up money, as well as quit-rents, or manours to be proposed for security, and immediate measures to be taken to raise money for repayment.

Richard Champion tells me he has the answer to Thomas Bevan's paper ready to send thee, else I should.

I know not whether thou hast seen it, but there is a book, already got to the second edition, which alarms the clergy, especially the High Flyers and *Jure Divino* men, and beats up their quarters at a brisk rate. 'Tis called "The Rights of the Christian Church Asserted," a large octavo, with a preface of ninety pages, in which he shows that the Church of England — as by law established — is a mere creature of the people and

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.]

civil power, and the independent power of the clergy contrary to the ancient laws of the land even in Popish times.

The book is four hundred and sixteen pages, showing the original and natural lights of Government upon Sidney's and Locke's principles, and that 'tis absurd and inconsistent with the very being of a Government to have two independent powers in the same society; that the clergy's endeavouring at it, is upon Papal principles and inconsistent with the Christian religion, with much more. Throughout the whole appears such strength of reasoning, depth of learning, and adventurous boldness, that the like is scarce to be met with, and some think will remain unanswerable, tho' there are several so called come out against it. I have seen Dr. Turner's, but the second part of the *Wolf Stript* (supposed by Lesley), I have not. The author intends to answer all, and has advertised that he keeps back his second part in order to consider them together. To read some parts gives me to admire the Providence that has cast our Friends into such a discipline by unlearned instruments, as can be learnedly vindicated and fairly proved to be according to primitive institution. . . . . .

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *5th 3d-mo.*, 1707.

Honoured Governour:—Inclosed are copies of my last, and of the New Castle act for a fort, &c., which I have frequently intimated to be of dangerous consequence, especially upon account of powder-money, and obliging our vessels to call, which now has fully appeared.

It has been highly resented by the traders here, but the winter obstructing navigation in general, and the act not being in force so as to affect us, till the Lieut. Gov'r. took a journey to New York, to bring Capt. Rednap, the Queen's engineer for this main, to lay out the fort, which he did so privately that I knew nothing of his business there till the said engineer came to town. He then gave orders to demand powder-money of all

vessels that were liable to pay, and accordingly it was executed with rigour. This giving great umbrage to our traders, they were resolved to withstand it, and divers owners gave their masters orders not to comply: Richard Hill and Samuel Preston, particularly, to their master of a very fine new sloop called the *Philadelphia*, bound on her first voyage to Barbadoes. The Governour had been at New Castle about a week, superintending the work, to carry it more vigorously on; but returning to Philadelphia about the time the said vessel was to sail, she was cleared duly at the office, and had also the Governour's letter past. The master went to wait on the Gov'r, who ordered him, without fail, to call at New Castle, but he acquainted the Gov'r that his owners had directed him to the contrary. The Gov'r threatened him severely, telling him they would fire at his vessel and clap him in prison if he refused. The master presently acquainted Richard Hill, the principal owner of this, who being extremely disturbed by it, hastened directly to the Governour, and meeting him in the street, near the Coffee-House, discoursed him there with great freedom upon it, telling him they expected his protection in their lawful trade, and not to be threatened with destruction unless they would comply with the imposition of a pretended law that could not affect them, or to this effect. Next day the Governour took horse again for New Castle, and the vessel being ready to sail, Richard Hill was resolved to go down in her, and stand the trial, and took with him Sam'l Preston and William Fishbourne, two other owners. I knew nothing of this design till the Governour was gone, and therefore could not speak to him about it in time, but in the afternoon wrote to him a letter, of which I here send a copy, and sent it by an express hired on purpose, who delivered it into his own hands, before the sloop came in sight; but this had not the desired effect. The Governour was exasperated at Richard Hill's warmth to him, and they set at New Castle a watch of ten men, 'tis affirmed, all the night after his arrival there, to watch lest she should pass by unobserved. For what followed I choose to refer to the depositions taken before Lord Cornbury, of which copies are also enclosed, being procured by Richard Hill, and shall only tell thee that Richard Hill, after

they had happily escaped the great shot at New Castle, and disappointed J. French, who had boarded him, perceiving he was hotly pursued by several other boats, on board one of which was the Governour, he was then apprehensive of mischief; but not knowing what it was to yield, thought it most advisable to put over to Salem, where unexpectedly a sloop of the Lord Cornbury's lay, with the Queen's flag aloft, — I say unexpectedly, because it was believed the said Lord was gone down to Cape May, — and there putting himself under the protection of the flag, went on shore with several hands, to give their depositions of what past on board, lest when the Governour came up they should all be hurried back to New Castle, and by being thrown into their adversaries' hands, be disabled of necessary evidence. The Lord's barge about the same time going up from the sloop to Salem, Richard Hill, with his witnesses, went in her, and the Gov'r just then coming up with S. Lowman, the collector of New Castle, and others, he sent the said collector and T. Grey to wait on the Lord Cornbury and complain. Accordingly they went, and hastening up first were heard, and Rich'd Hill afterwards. Lord Cornbury immediately commanded Lt.-Gov'r Ingoldsby, with the barge, to bring J. French and the master on shore, giving no orders as to our Governour; but when he came to the sloop, they were both sent off to New Castle, and our Governour only came up with him to Salem. Lord Cornbury resented the matter highly, yet was very discreet in it; but telling him he had affronted Her Majesty's Government in laying violent hands on men under the protection of her flag, out of his own government, and that he would have satisfaction, the other in great measure submitted, and the first step insisted on being to send forthwith for the master, it was immediately complied with, and he being put on board his sloop again, they were all discharged and sent outwards on their voyage. Richard Hill was on board during all the transactions mentioned in the first deposition, but not Sam'l Preston or William Fishbourne; for they, going on shore to the Gov'r at New Castle, got on board of the sloop again at the same time the Gov'r did, and were there present in Rich'd Hill's absence, while the matter of the second deposition was transacted; but in the latter, I must observe, that

tho' it be said our Gov'r went on board with sword in hand, it was not drawn, but that he was in a violent passion is confest.

All the owners came up to Philadelphia the same day, viz., the first instant. During their absence, I was under the greatest concern of mind that ever I knew in my life, fearing some great mischief would be done, but was in a great measure relieved at their arrival. Next day I went to Col. Quarry and discoursed him largely upon it. On the 3rd, the Lord Cornbury came to town. In the evening I waited upon him, and Col. Quarry informing him I desired to speak with him, I had a conference next morning for above an hour. I entered fully into the matter, and protested in thy name and behalf against these proceedings, as being not only against thy inclinations, but invasive of thy rights. I found he had resented the matter to our Gov'r, and will represent it home to the Lords of Trade. I represented thy case to him fully, and urged him, upon his honour, to be tender of attempting anything to thy injury, who art altogether ignorant of the matter, with a great deal to the same purpose. He gave me all possible assurances that he would have a very tender regard to thee, and never do anything with a design to hurt thee, &c. I treat Col. Quarry with confidence in thy behalf, letting him know I have the greatest dependence upon his honour and good-will to thee, of which he gives me the deepest assurances, and promises I shall never be disappointed in him; yet be pleased to believe I consider what is prudent at the same time. I must own he carries it very well to me, and has given no reason to suspect his sincerity.

Just now our Gov'r has come to town, and has put into my hands five or six other depositions, of which, if I can, I shall also send copies.

Whatever is said, notwithstanding, I am of opinion that Rich'd Hill never struck one blow. He is very warm when provoked, yet very steady to his principles. He and his wife have been the Governour's hearty friends till now; but the scale is turned, and I perceive by the Governour's discourse he must expect the utmost severity the law will allow. I hope it may stop there.

The Gov'r has ordered a Council to be summoned in the morning, in order to lay the matter before them; but what their

right will be may easily be imagined. Had they been consulted about the act itself, it might have been seasonable.

I need not spend time to descant upon this. The matter of fact will fully speak to the point, and thy own thoughts will sufficiently tell thee what is necessary to be done. I think I have not been wanting in my duty in relation to any part of it. I have been constant, from the first, in giving my opinion of the whole, and the letter I sent to the Gov'r will, I hope, sufficiently express my sentiments. I can say no more than what I have done in many letters for these twelve months past, to which I hope thou hast been pleased to give a serious perusal, for they contain the very thoughts I still have at this day, only matters grow continually worse on our hands, and this I take to be the unhappiest blow we have yet received, and of the most pernicious consequences to us, not only here, where I expect very great confusions will daily arise from it, but also that it will give the Board of Trade a handle to enquire too narrowly into the foundation of a distinct legislation in the Lower counties. The Lieut.-Gov'r seems so fixt in his resentments, that I much doubt the effect of any endeavours that can be used to prevail on him. Others are as resolute the other way, and in the midst of all, the Assembly meeting upon their own adjournment this very day, will lay hold of it and make the worst uses of the whole; and because the country, and town in general, deeply resents the Governour's measures, it will exceedingly strengthen all their other irregular proceedings, and from hence they will manage their affairs so, I doubt, as to make themselves be thought right in every thing, and all those that have opposed them directly the contrary.

The Governour is resolved to fire at every vessel that will not submit as she passes, and to make all that by the Act are liable, pay the powder-money, whatever comes of it; and others being as stiff the other way, I shall expect little better than open war. I shall once more say that 'tis needless for me to make any further observations when they act, but that 'tis absolutely necessary to provide a remedy. Perhaps by this time a treaty is concluded; if not, matters are very unhappy. These are very cloudy times, indeed, and to us a day of severe trial. There is a mighty hand in it that lays the design out of reach of pre-

vention. For my own part, I have reasoned and thought as coolly, and I think as regularly, on these matters as ever I did in my life, and have used my best endeavours with the persons concerned; but things conspired so together out of any particular reach, that the hand I mentioned is very visible, and Pensilvania, thy formerly near darling, is now come thy heavy affliction. I can but lament my own fortune that should be concerned in it at such a time, when it is made so; but I have this comfort to think that, designedly nor accidentally, I have contributed to no part of it.

I perceive that I must now of necessity decline the thoughts of coming over till matters are settled; that if by sticking to the ship I can do any good, I may not be wanting. May that Divine protecting hand that has hitherto so manifestly supported thee thro' so many floods, continue the same remarkable goodness, and deliver thee from the present pressing straits, which I believe will at length bring a real advantage.

The Gov'r designs to send over his Justification by the first opportunity, by which he is of opinion he will be able to shew he was under necessity of doing what he has done in relation to those counties, and to which I shall refer. Upon discoursing the matter fully with me, in which I was very plain, he is discouraged, I suppose, from laying the matter before the Council, as he intended; but there is a petition, I perceive, drawn up by many of the traders, to the Assembly, desiring them to take notice of it. This I have opposed to my utmost, for some reasons given in this letter, viz., lest it should furnish those who have been generally in the wrong with a right cause; but resentments run so high among some that I could not prevail.[1]

[1] [The firing upon this vessel was shown, by the address of the Assembly to Evans, to be contrary to the Royal Charter to Penn, and that it prevented the "free and undisturbed use of the ports, harbours, bays, rivers, &c., belonging unto or leading to or from the Province," and violated the common and statute law of England. The Council having unanimously expressed the same opinion, the Governour complained because they had not seen fit to "before acquaint him with their sentiments;" that he "was sorry he was not made sensible of this in time before the act was past," otherwise "he should never have consented to anything that might give the Province so much occasion for offence," adding, with amusing forgetfulness, that obliging vessels that

Next Second-day, the 12th instant, I am to come to a trial upon the House's articles of impeachment against me, of which I have already sent thee two copies, and shall another with my answers more fully when the trial is over. I shall endeavour to have it as solemn and publick as possible for a general service.

Friends are preparing their letters towards thy assistance, but it goes on too slowly. They have missed the opportunity of the vessel from York to Bristol, but intend to take the next. Had I time, I would send thee a copy of what is designed.

By Capt. Finney, the younger, I send the Trustees for Wm. Aubrey's bills for about £100 sterling. . . . . .

Yesterday we had the certainty of the Union's being confirmed, and the same day was launched the ship I have mentioned to thee under the name of the HAPPY UNION; but her name *Diligence* will be retained in the register and bills of lading, to have such insurances as may be already made according to former directions. She may sail from hence to Virginia, we suppose in six weeks hence. . . . . J. L.

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belonged to *strangers*, and which "came to take away freight and business from our own vessels, to pay powder-money could be no damage at all to us." The Council replied that the provision that strangers only should pay powder-money, and that the inhabitants would not be the sufferers, was *grounded* in mistake, *for the trade of the place would be affected by it.* The *Philadelphia*, it will be recollected, was a Pennsylvania vessel, and not owned by strangers, but by citizens of the Province. Evans was obliged to promise that he would suspend the execution of the Act. Upon the arrival of Gov. Gookin, in 1708, and the eve of the departure of Evans, the Assembly, in an address to the former, recommended the prosecution of the latter, on account of "*the false alarm in May*, 1706, *wherein he was the chief actor*," and because of the "*notorious act of hostility he committed by firing shot at the Queen's subjects, passing by New Castle, in this river, upon their lawful trade to and from this port.*" In complaining, however, of the "irregular administration of the late Deputy Governour," the Assembly, with an injustice of which they were too capable, could not refrain from charging it to the influence of "evil counsel"—a covert attack upon Logan. None who have perused this correspondence but must have been convinced of the Secretary's earnest effort, by *good*, although unhappily unavailing counsel, to divert Evans from his imprudent courses. Logan, unfortunately, could not say this to the Assembly, although every member of that body must have known his sentiments. EDITOR.]

JONATHAN AND CALEB DICKINSON TO WILLIAM PENN.

JAMAICA, *May* 10, 1707.

HONOURED FRIEND: — We have received thine of 14th 12th-mo., with all thy former, which, upon Capt. Smith's arrival, we answered, as per copy inclosed, and how far we acted with him in this affair. After his being here some time we observed him, found him so far at ease that we could not think other than he was not much concerned. It's true, at first, the sum proposed would not equip a vessel so as to go actually to work, but we advised him and recommended to our brother Gomersall, a man of good judgment, and in those affairs hath spent both time and money, who was ready and willing to join Capt. Smith. Our advice was that he would seek for a vessel that might carry him, and a small company with four divers, to the place he was told of. He went from us with the recommendations to our brother, spent time, as per ours inclosed, from the date of ours to thee and until we put him forward the second [time], as per ours to our brother and him dated Nov. 14, had not ever inquired for a vessel, nor made one step in action towards the business, and on his second time going and returning. As we had our private advices, he doing nothing in the least, and those that observed him thought more for words than deeds — for if he had endeavoured for a vessel, we were both willing and ready to join him with our assistance and money, that he might have had a trial, of which he hath by report as he hath informed us, which to go in quest of ought to be done in a small vessel, and a small charge, for by what we could gather it's a doubtful case. If the wreck hath been as we have demonstrated in ours to the gentlemen jointly concerned, there is much reason to doubt the wreck is not in one body, which experience hath taught us of a vessel in particular that we were concerned in, cast on a reef near this island, and great part of her loading iron, where we employed divers, and our hard sea-breezes coming on before we could accomplish, the wreck was destroyed against the reef and some parts carried miles and leagues, and some small parcels of iron found over the reef, but the main was totally lost. By this, and such like cases, we doubt much if his ship's in two

fathoms or three fathoms of water to windward of a reef or shoal. All these things considered, we could find no encouragement. It would have been an indirect action in us to have provided a vessel and then left him to take his choice, go or not; for we upon good grounds do give our opinion that we had no encouragement, from one hand or other, to launch out. We were both ready and willing to have advanced the sum, or as much more as would have been needful, having that due regard to the honour of those concerned. And we have this to offer, among the rest of our experiences, that we are apt to doubt the sincerity of the person you recommended to us; also his abilities on such an affair. We depended on his advice to the gentlemen concerned, but could not have thought that he would have affirmed a slender report, for our brother Gomersall, upon our request, had fully searched the matter out, and found it only about twenty or thirty pound of pieces of eight money that was taken up, of which sunk in earthquake; but the occasion on suspicion of a sloop that had been out some months and had sent in some of her men to provide provisions, which strengthened the report; but had Capt. Smith conversed with our brother Gomersall, he might have known the whole matter. This sloop, long before Capt. Smith went hence, came in without finding a wreck; but the business was out so long, it is not thoroughly known. She brought in some goods they had from the Spaniards, and some from the Indians. Capt. Smith hath had twenty pounds of us, for which we have his receipt. As to what was left in Wm. Rogers' and James Mills' hands, we are promised payment thereof by Joshua Crosbee and Chas. Hill, which will not exceed thirty pound, or thereabout, as I am informed by them. We shall send the account thereof as soon as obtained. With due respects we salute thee, who are,

Thy affectionate and assured friends,

JONATH. DICKINSON,
CALEB DICKINSON.

[The original has this indorsement, in Mrs. Logan's hand, "Fishing for that poor business the wreck." — EDITOR.]

WILLIAM PENN TO JOHN EVANS, GOVERNOUR OF PENNSYLVANIA.

EALING, 15*th* 3*d mo.*, 1707.

ESTEEMED FRIEND:—As my dependence was upon thy honour, so I never thought myself unsafe with it; but three reports, strenuously improved to my disgrace in these parts, for so I account everything that affects thee and thy conduct, in which I am so much concerned, makes me very uneasy.

The first is the alarm given the people by thy knowledge, if not contrivance, when at the same time thou knewest there was no reality in the pretended reason of it, and gavest those persons the private hint of the fallacy that perhaps could not more deserve that whisper, than were others that were left to be freighted, as the very best and most obliging of our friends in town and country were, and this just after they had shewn their distinguishing regards to thee and me, by the provision they had zealously made for Governour and Government, and for which singular token of wisdom and kindness they have been neglected in the last election. That being improved by mine and our Friends' implacable enemies to misguide and blow up the present Assembly, to fall upon things either impracticable or inconvenient as well as inflaming against us. I am truly sorry for these things.

The second report is the sufferings our Friends lie under, as well as are exposed to, in the Lower Counties, on account of not bearing arms, a thing which touches my conscience as well as honour. "He must be a silly shoemaker that hath not a last for his own foot." That my Friends should not be secure and easy under me, in those points that regard our very characteristicks; but that fines, or a forced disowning of their own principles they must stoop to; for one Brewster says in his letter to one Child (come to my hand), that Oliver Matthews was plundered of no less than six pounds for fifteen shillings, which very fine is a violation of our constitution and customs too, since my interest was there; all which I desire may be rectified forthwith, or I must take up complaint with the whole body of our Friends, represented in our next General Assembly, to the Queen against such a persecution, and how they came by themselves to make laws that refused to do so with the Province (unless the

Queen has given that power to thee under the great seal, they objected), I cannot tell. Pray speak to the best disposed of them, as William Rodney, &c., that so every tub may stand upon its own bottom, and that they do not lay their separation from the Province, that fatal day, as they will find at last, I fear, in persecution of those that have made New Castle so considerable, and must do, if they would have a little patience. Envy has risen too soon for anybody's good, among some of both parties, perhaps, which I had hoped thy more quiet and equaller temper would have prudently overcome.

The third complaint is the encouragement and growth of vice for want of power and countenance to suppress it. Now this touches my reputation — that so fairly began in both good laws and good examples too. As one instance of it, Solomon Cresson's story is sent over by the present Speaker, as I take it, severely aggravated both as to the house, the time of night, and the caning him, while the very badge of authority was in his hand, and doing his duty thereby required; and they say he is an honest, sober, inoffensive man, and was gone and called back by one of the family with a design to provoke thee against the said constable Cresent.[1] Another instance they give is, the more than enough of publick houses, especially in Philadelphia, that are licensed by thee, and the unfit persons that are so being not of that sobriety and good conduct required in such as keep taverns, &c.; also, the unreasonable sums required from some of them for licenses, and that yearly, and even after so full a provision has been made by the former Assembly for the Governour. In all which I desire thy answer and utmost caution on one hand, and care on the other to suppress vice, as by proclamation now sent, and taking advice of the most eminent Friends and sober people of that city, who are most deserving or best qualified to keep publick houses here; especially as I desire that vice may be suppressed — one great end of Government, so I desire that care may be taken that no just offence be given the Crown officers there in reference to the revenue thereof, and I hope Colonel Quarry came to you last with a disposition of living easily and fairly among you, and pray let no occasion be

[1] [*Sic.* — EDITOR.]

given him to change his resolution, for that has hitherto been the pretence to fall upon Proprietary governments, tho' none so deserving of the Crown, being made and governed at their own charge. Give no occasion to the inhabitants, nor yet court any selfish spirits at my cost and my suffering familie's. Distinguish tempers and pleas, and let realities, and not mere pretences, engage thee. Redress real grievances; suppress vice and faction; encourage the industrious and sober, and be an example as well as commander, and thy authority will have the greater weight and acceptance with the people.

I am far from lending my ears against my own officers. 'Tis neither wise nor just; nor yet is it so to refuse to hear what is said by way of complaint, when the nature of the thing calls for it, and the exigency of affairs requires it. But there is, I know, a just caution to be observed in the use to be made thereof on all hands.

Thy friends, of which mine are not the least — my relations I mean — inquire of thy welfare, and those and other stories coming to their ears have troubled them, as not savouring of the character they had before apprehended to have been thine, and suitable to one employed by me. I earnestly desire thy utmost honour, prudence, and justice — yea, courage — in my affairs; and don't despond of a happy Providence and success in them at last, which hitherto has not failed to attend me in the close of various and hazardous adventures in the world. And for a conclusive paragraph upon these things: what thy honest and friendly father and mother would advise thee, if living, to do for my service and honest, tho' abused, interest — that do with all thy might, I desire thee.

For publick affairs here, they will come by the prints, of course. Only the affairs of Spain look a little dark. Some wish for peace, and some fear it. Be wise and fight to the last, for I hope a tolerable issue, at least, will succeed. Remember me to the deserving.

Thy, &c., Wm. Penn.

Indorsed, in Logan's writing, "Proprietor to Gov'r Evans. Rebuke. Copy sent J. L. 15th 3d-mo., 1707." — L.

Isaac Norris to Richard Hill.

London, 17*th* 3*d-mo.*, 1707.

Last Fourth-day I was at the hearing of Ford's business before the Lord Chancellor, which was not a full trial, but an examination or trial whether the accounts should be opened, and altho' Sir Edward Northey and Vernon talked smoothly and closely for it, yet the Lord Chancellor declared he was sorry he could not consent, for there had been so many settlements of accounts and assurances by deeds of various kinds upon it, that he would rather pay the money than set the precedent which would render all business uncertain and endless. Howbeit, he did as good as declare his opinion, that it would not go beyond a mortgage. I suppose a further trial soon, and the Proprietor thinks to draw it into the House of Lords. I have some hope still that the whole may be lumped, if the money can be but raised. I have not been wanting, and thought I had brought Philip to consent to an arbitration, but he went from it by his mother's refusal.

As to the great complaints laid before G. W., W. M., T. R., and W. C., from our Corporation, &c., I happened the other day to be called into them, and believe have somewhat allayed the heat. They take all to be complaints and requests of the body of Friends. Only honest William Miers happened to inquire where was Samuel Carpenter's and some other hands? and he *knew* Griffith Jones. I told him the names he wanted were, with many scores more, to a paper of another kind, which the Proprietor could produce, and did; which detected the unfriendly way of asking right things, as well as the unfair and illegal composing, finishing, and sending away that remonstrance in 1704; and so I gave a true account of that piece of management. The Corporation have sent over a new Charter to get signed. They only read one paragraph of it whilst I was there, and asked my opinion of it. I was tender of saying anything that might be laid to my door as endeavouring to abridge liberties and privileges, but could not forbear so far, as that I feared they grasped at more than was fit for a new country; for I perceived they

would have power of weighing, measuring, and gauging, with many other things which I fear may be pernicious to the growth and freedom of trade. ISAAC NORRIS.

Tell the Friends concerned I am not unmindful of the School Charter, but am promised it, and shall get it done as soon as the Proprietor is at leisure.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, 20*th* 3*d-mo.*, 1707.

HONOURED GOVERNOUR: — On the 5th instant I gave thee an account, by this same conveyance, via Jamaica, of the disturbance occasioned by the New Castle law for a fort, obliging our vessels to call at New Castle, and strangers trading with us to pay powder-money, &c. At the same time, with copies of my last preceding letters, I sent the depositions taken on both sides. Since that time the Council drew up a very close representation of the matter to the Governour, which after several days deliberation was considered and debated very closely yesterday, in Council; the result of which was, that the Governour designs immediately to call the Assembly of those counties with all possible speed, and to get those clauses repealed that affect us, if they can be prevailed on to agree to it. He is extremely troubled, I believe, at this wrong step, being, as I have often said, inclined to act for the best, according to his notions of things, and how he came to miss it, I have fully given thee my poor opinion of the matter. 'Tis hoped that upon this, effectual methods will be taken to quiet the people for the present in this particular, and it may issue better here, than, from his resentments at his return from New Castle, could reasonably be expected. There has also been a petition given in to the Assembly, signed by above two hundred of Philadelphia, and other traders of the Province, upon the same head, upon which they have made a remonstrative address to the Governour; but having received that from the Council first, which was designed

so by us on purpose, he entered into the consideration of the matter from that only, without taking notice of the other.

The Assembly met the said 5th instant, and sent in some further small bills, which the Governour could not think fit to take notice of till they would agree to revive the false process and pleas of the former courts; but this they refused, sticking obstinately to their bill. They have spent some days since upon my impeachment, and on the 12th instant I was in hopes of having a fair hearing, which I have most earnestly prest. A large room, with accommodation for it, was provided, and their committee appointed to prosecute came, but unless the Governour would agree to try me judicially, as the House of Lords tries impeachments in England, and take upon him a full power accordingly, they refused to proceed. The Governour told them he was very ready to hear their complaints, and would redress their grievances to the utmost of his power when proved, but that he could not take upon himself that parliamentary power, there being nothing, either in law or the King's Grant, to warrant it.

By next opportunity, which will be a vessel directly from York to Dublin, I design to send copies of all these proceedings.

Measures are taking, as fast as they can be carried forward, to get subscriptions, not only from Friends but others, for thy assistance; but the security expected is that thy whole interest here shall be made over to persons in trust to sell and raise the money; which, tho' the only method, I believe, that will be practicable here, yet if the other, that I have so often mentioned, of getting a consideration from the Crown, can be brought to bear, if my opinion would carry any weight with it, 'tis the only thing I would advise to do. Thou wilt really find it impossible to hold the Government upon any terms that will be either for thy interest or satisfaction, except there happens some very great revolution in the temper of the people and administration. The Assembly adjourned themselves three days ago, as they generally do, without leave, and are to meet three weeks hence to sign some things they are preparing that have long been in agitation. This we have from some small hints dropt by some of the members, for in these cases they are very secret.

Thou wilt doubtless be exceedingly disturbed to find such

divisions among us, and perhaps believe we have carried matters too high, but I can assure thee the whole Council have been unanimous in our proceedings with them, and have been ready to use all suitable methods to compose matters and do business; but the truth of the matter is, that there is a plot at the bottom against thy interest, covered with a specious pretence to amuse and draw in the people, according to the usual arts of demagogues; and there is no force here, as we are circumstanced, can withstand them. They abuse and insult the Council continually, and under colour of asserting the people's privileges, throw all into confusion; nor can I see a remedy on this side the water.

The Assembly at Burlington have presented a violent remonstrance to their Governour, the Lord Cornbury, which he has answered as closely and with great severity to our friends. Lewis Morris and Samuel Jennings he frequently lashes by name. The latter is Speaker, most unhappily, and the whole thing runs mostly in Friends' language, which I think was very indiscreet, seeing they were not then a majority. It was drawn by Lewis Morris, 'tis said; and Friends, to be sure, could not desire it to be put in any other dress, so that I fear there was a design in it. There are some things that nobleman has doubtless overstrained, but when it is sent home, with the account of our Assembly's proceedings also, (of whose minutes they procure copies from these published in the Coffee-House, they say, but I fancy by another means,) 'tis much if they cast not a great odium upon Friends among the ministry, and prove highly to their disadvantage. I discoursed Samuel Jennings closely as to this purpose the day before their Assembly met; but his headstrong temper will never admit a rein.

The chief occasion of my writing now is to furnish thee with the inclosed copy of an address to the Queen from Maryland, for running the division line, which will, 'tis supposed, be no damage to thee, but must be followed.

Upon Col. Quarry's prosecuting Joseph Wood for the Queen's money that he received when in the Collector's place, I begin to have some small umbrage of suspicion; but I shall still take the same measures, and never let him see it unless forced to it.

I fear I must lay all thoughts of coming over this summer aside, tho' I am very desirous of it, both upon thy account and my own. If I stay, 'tis only for thy service, and therefore I hope thou wilt have some regard for me in all affairs that can concern me. I cannot now add but that I am,

Thy most ob't serv't, JAMES LOGAN.

Edward Shippen, it was thought, two days ago, would have departed. He is very weak and scarce expected to recover. I shall be larger per next.

Postscript.

I have forbore mentioning, because I accounted it needless, that upon this union of the kingdoms, if a peace speedily ensue, all interest in lands in America will doubtless be doubled; therefore were matters ever so clear, I should be very cautious at this time of selling; but at the same time 'tis probable, if thou hast not yet parted with the Government, thou wilt find it somewhat more difficult to hold, for there may be reason that upon the admission of another whole kingdom to the plantations, the Parliament will fix their eyes upon them, at first especially, and be very thoughtful about their management, which, if so, the proceedings of our Assembly, the late business at New Castle, and what else the Lord Cornbury will transmit to the Lords, may very much tend to open a way for what I have mentioned. But what seems worse is, that the Assembly, verily believing thou art about surrendering, will use their utmost endeavours to prevent thy doing it to thy own advantage; for they freely declare it to be their opinion that thou hast no right to receive anything from the Government, and that it ought not to be surrendered but upon terms first agreed to by them, as the persons principally concerned. I take all opportunities to acquaint thee with these things, and thou wilt find them too true I doubt, in a very little time, I hope not too late.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, 10*th* 4*th-mo.*, 1707.

Dear Friend, James Logan: — Mitchell being taken, our letters are gone with him for France. The requisite I give minutes of by Captain John Hamilton, with whom I have entrusted divers hints to thee. I was to have had a present for helping him to £1,650 here, but forty odd pounds of thy account with his father is all I am to hope for, so mean is my service! and I would hope thou hast cleared accounts before now with his mother, of which I remember thou wrote to me above a year since. He returns Deputy Postmaster General, and has £200 per annum — a noble post and a sensible man. Next know that our Chancery suit is like to go to the House of Lords, not because the Lord Chancellor does not repute it a mortgage, and not a fee, for that he has already done, but because I have great hopes to have the accounts reduced to at least a moiety. Friends are very warmly upon it. S. Wale, Jo. Fræme, Ed. Hastwell, Jos. Wright, Jos. and Sylvanus Grove, &c., and if the fleet is not gone in four or six days, expect what is done in order to engage a general representation of Friends to that barbarous family (the Fords) and the Government here too. If that take not effect, with such demonstration as no man that would not hazard all credit in this world, and his salvation in the next, would oppose, they are stopped till the next Michaelmas Term, when the First and Great Britannick Parliament meets,[1] to which it will go. Many great men interpose for the ending it by reference, or lumping it to prevent scanning those enormous accounts — and certainly that must be a base and wretched account that cannot stand the enquiry of an honest and able accountant. But my son-in-law, Aubrey, grows very troublesome, because he gets nothing thence, almost to an open break, did I not bear extremely. All his last bills are protested, at which he has no patience, and truly it is provoking. Cousin Rooth is yet behind £36, not yet receiving it. Regnier's bill of £9 is protested; so those upon Charles Eden's friends.

[1] Alluding to the union of England and Scotland, the Act for which had recently been passed. — L.

Neither are the rent bills accepted. But more next of this. As thou bidest me be stout, be thou so. Cherish or threaten tenants as they give occasion for either, and get the Governour and the best of my friends — which, I bless God, are of the best — to bestir themselves, and browbeat that villanous fellow, David Lloyd, who sent his letters to W. Meade, Geo. Whitehead, Thos. Lowry, &c., and remonstrance too, from the Assembly and City. I shall send a copy in a few days, if can, inclosed to Lord F. [Fairfax] to shew the correspondence. But I bless the Lord I am yet upon my rock and lasting foundation; and had I supplies from thee, I yet could bear up my head till matters issue with the Fords. I should hope for a comfortable and easy conclusion of my present troubles, and days, too, in God's time. I desire thee to hasten all the relief thou canst, both to me and son Aubrey, of whom I would be clear, of all men. He has a bitter tongue, and I wish I had nothing to do with him in money matters.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philad'a, *28th 4th-mo.*, 1707.

May it please the Proprietor and Governour:—The foregoing sheet is part of a copy of a short letter I sent by way of New York, and inclosed is also a particular account of thy affairs at Salem, which is given distinct by itself.

Our Assembly met on the 9th inst., but their whole business was to sign their addresses to the Queen and Lords, which I have so often mentioned. They manage at such a rate by virtue of their Charter, coming and going when they please, that the Governour and Council can find no method to prevent their mischievous designs. I hope they have not yet sent any of them away, no good opportunity offering, unless they have done it by way of Madeira, which I find but seldom answers.

By the next we shall send over the minutes of Council, which, I believe, will be the best answer, and by the same I shall also give my answer, which will be of service to shew their great injustice and barbarity in their proceedings. I have

often mentioned it, but could never finish it till now, without some disadvantage to myself.

This doubtless will not only be a great affliction to thee, but a great trouble to Friends; and there is this that's particular in it, that the Lord Cornbury, to justify himself and throw the greater odium upon them as a people, will, in all probability, make the worst of their proceedings here, and shew that the restlessness of their tempers leads them not only to attack him, but those of this Province — even thee also, to whom they lie under so many obligations. This, if urged to the ministry, will much invalidate all they can offer; but at the same time 'tis a desperate blow upon the profession, and yet without sufficient cause, for the majority of the Jersey Assembly consists, not of Friends, and of those here the leaders are, but their offscourings.

Griffith Jones has absented altogether from meetings since the disowning of his son . . . . . Here are two young ministering Friends of England, John Fothergill and William Armstead, of good sense every way, who about ten days ago sailed hence for Barbadoes, in order to visit these Islands, and return thence to England, where if they were arrived they would be of great service as to affairs among Friends, for they are able to give a good general account of our proceedings, and are *thy* friends, and I may say *mine* also; and I think there are scarcely any honest-hearted among us but what are so. . . . . .

There are two others arrived but two days ago, from the north of Ireland, by way of Maryland. Their names are Patrick Henderson and Samuel Wilkinson; the first Scotch, I think, by birth, and is a most extraordinary young man, 'tis thought, as ever visited these parts. Of such as these, the more always the better. Our own meetings of business are now so much injured by some young forward novices, and a few partisans for D. Lloyd, still a close member, that the more sound and ancient Friends dare not venture upon anything there that concerns the Government, excepting a separation upon it whenever it is taken in hand, and therefore are backward; but they are very sensible. According to present appearances of things, a separation will in time be unavoidable, and that after Friends there[1] have taken

[1] That is, in England. — L.

notice of the proceedings here, upon the Assembly's several applications to them, nothing less than a general purge must ensue. These are great afflictions, but there is certainly a superior hand in the whole that is bringing about some great end of Providence, which, perhaps, need not be lamented in time, tho' now it will give thee and many more great anxiety and trouble.

We have positively agreed with Col. Quarry for Pennsbury. He takes it for seven years, unless thou comest over sooner, and then must have six months' warning. The rent is to be £40 per annum, and he is to stand to all repairs after the first, which upon the house itself is but light; to repair the windows and make one new door to the lower chamber at the foot of the stairs, and to lay the upper floor of the outhouse, and run one partition; to repair the garden fences, and to build up the wall before the front at the descending steps; all which was absolutely to be done if any of the family come into it, for the old wall in that place being quite gone, the rains washed away the upper ground, which has cost so much to raise. Other repairs he is to do at his own expense; and whatever thou may think of the rent, those here that know the trouble of repairing great buildings, and the damage an ordinary tenant would do to such a building, and the advantage that an improving one will be to it and to those gardens, think we have taken a very prudent course and much for thy benefit. We are to have a good store there to put thy goods in, and the Colonel will buy the living stock, if we can agree, and talks also of hiring the negroes.[1] I shall desire thy positive commands about what sorts of effects shall be received here, for without them I shall not be forward

[1] Light is progressive. William Penn and the other worthies of his time, did not view the subject of slavery in the same light in which every just person now views it, or their practice would have corresponded with their convictions. They were, however, humane and good masters. William Penn was tenderly concerned for the religious instruction and kind treatment of both Indians and Negroes, and I find my grandfather, Isaac Norris, refusing to receive consignments of the latter, as slaves, from his friend Jonathan Dickinson, then in Jamaica. Let us hope that other evils that now exist in society, especially that destructive one of war, will be deprecated as universally by the good, and active means for its extinction be employed, as in the case of slavery. — L.

to venture any more remittances after the ship that I have mentioned, which now promises very well, or can expect a convoy from Virginia. We know not what other course to take about Pennsbury, seeing John Sotcher is resolved to leave it, and there is no probability by the late letters of thy own coming speedily. He has only the house and other improvements, and leaves room for any other settlements. He is to enter next spring, and in the mean time sends up hands to the gardens, which are now gone very much to decay. I have never received one farthing from Jno. Sotcher, and yet a more industrious or honest hand could never be put upon it. He has paid himself, however, and his wife, about £70, their former arrears of wages and disbursements before thy departure, and tells me that at his going off he shall have £50 or £60 for me. When we talked of Col. Quarry keeping the house and gardens in repair, several were of opinion he would have a hard enough bargain of it if he had it without paying any rent at all. He offered £20, however, then advanced £8 more, and there it stood for two or three months, till we thought it quite over. But some of the gentry of Burlington and elsewhere, who hoped for some advantage or pleasure from his having such a country house there, did very much influence him, I believe, by their persuasions, and this last week he has at length come to our terms, on which we strictly insisted.

I have not received a line from thee of a later date than the 3d-mo., 1706, which is somewhat surprising. The *Elizabeth*, Jas. Mitchell, master, bound to this place, we hear is taken, which doubtless is a great loss to the place. I fear there will be considerable damage by the loss of the protested bills in her.

I must add a little about the Government. The Assembly of the three Lower Counties being called, in order to make void the clause in the Fort Act that touches the Province, met, according to summons, being the Fourth of the week; but not meeting the Governour there, they staid two days, and adjourned on the third, not without great dissatisfaction, first, for their being called, and next for being so slighted. I was at Salem at the time, and came over about an hour after they had adjourned, and was much surprised at not finding the Governour. I staid there that

night upon a message that came from the Indians of Conostogoe, and the next, being the Seventh day of the week, the Governour came, after all the members but two were gone. The occasion of his stay, it seems, was an affront from a captain of a privateer in this port, whom he imprisoned upon it and appointed guards to attend him there, and others to defend the gaol for several nights against the men who belonged to him, who, they said, designed in the night to break open the prison. These are matters that I do not very well understand, and can by no means pretend to account for them, being done without my knowledge, as some others have of a like nature.

I ought also to mention the intended subscriptions, but can give no good account of them, as I desire. I thought they would have been done long ago, but I cannot carry them on myself; therefore, I cannot answer for them. Everybody concerned owns they are ashamed, and I thought once it was set briskly a-going. But it moves so very slowly that I know not what to think of it. I must refer to my former letters, and here conclude.

Thy most obedient and affectionate, J. L.

P. S.—If my brother, William Logan, has been to pay his respects to thee in London, where I hear he has been lately, I request thee to cause the inclosed directed to him to be delivered. If not, pray be pleased to let the superscription be filled up, the same way as that to John Hoop is, and so be put in the post-office together. I beg this boldness may be excused, &c.

I have mentioned nothing in these last letters of a surrender, I having in former letters said all upon those heads that was necessary from me—perhaps much more—but I would fain hope 'tis over by this time.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, *8th 5th-mo.*, 1707.

Make the best of my East and West Jersey concerns, and particularly of Jo. Ffenwick interest in Salem tenth, for my

poor younger children. Canst thou not buy out Robert's interest in father Callowhill's lot? 'twere valuable. Let me know if anybody has attorney'd to Lloyd on Ford's account, or refused to pay thee, and who under publick authority? and send notice per first. Had our law of registry, repealed by me at New Castle, been in being, tho' I had regranted — rather *de novo* — every man's title, it had invalidated these deeds of '96, '97, and '99. I hereby order thee to dissolve the Sasquehanagh purchase, hoping to make twice the value of it; but the rest I desire all care about getting in. Friends are taking into their hands my concerns in Europe and Pennsylvania, and clear me from the Fords, &c., and pay themselves gradually, and allowing me £500 per annum, which I incline to; and if Friends there will come in, tho' but for £5,000 sterling, I'll come to them and live among them till death, for aught I know. I take the Sasquehanagh purchase to be as bad for me as that of the Company was. Another method may do better. Thomas Fairman, to whom remember me, has writ to me a second time, as the first about 100,000 acres of land, so now of 300,000 acres; he has found out *that* is good land and fit to deal out to purchasers. A word from thee of that, pray.

Think not of coming, for 'tis there I want thee most, to head the craft and designs of David Lloyd, John Moore, J. Wilcox, &c., for here [are] divers able men, as T. Wallinford, Jos. and Sylvanus Grove, Henry Gouldney, N. Marks, John Fræme, and Jos. Field, who are engaged for my assistance, both heads and hands, aye! and purses also. But if they press thee too hard, and the Governour be not stout to browbeat Lloyd, &c., with the courage I expect from him, thou mayst make a trip hither. Wert thou here, I would not spare thee, but being there till we see an issue here, thou must bestir thyself, and urge the Governour on all occasions to exert his power to help my affairs, and discountenance them.

I have thine of the 2d 1st-mo., 12th 2d-mo. I wish thou hadst been larger about Coxe's business, fearing you want my knowledge of fact to help my interest therein. I like the Governour's Commissioners for accounts and Courts of Justice at the present, since the more privileges the more presumption and

untowardliness. The insolence of Lloyd is such, that, had he done it to me, I would not have proceeded to do anything till they had proposed another Speaker and punished this. I am ashamed these things should be known to mankind. Once more press the Governour to pursue advantages against those three men, Lloyd, Wilcox, Jones, and also Biles. I have writ to him upon their complaints against him sent to G. W., W. M., T. L.,[1] W. C., and Walter Miers, to be laid before the Queen, &c., against me, him, &c., for so I count everything that they complain against you. But Captain Finney, J. Moore, Wm. Trent, J. Pidgeon, and Jasper Yeates, have employed one Wilcox, an attorney, and Col. Quarry's, to complain upon the law of qualifications; and I have been before the Lords Commissioners once or twice about it, and must be again a week hence. Isaac Norris seems unwilling to part easily with it. I think to send a copy, and thou wilt find the first article a plain bespeaking of the whole Government out of Friends' hands. The language of the old petitioners, in Cousin Markham's time, about the year '89, which Col. Quarry gave to Griffith Jones,[2] the Welsh attorney in the Lower Counties, to form into a formidable petition a remonstrance against Friends having government, as he told me, I am glad Col. Quarry carries so well. Encourage him and let him have Pennsbury upon pretty good terms, and for what time he will, only surrendering at the arrival of me or my order or assignee — be sure of that — the Col. living so long; for depend upon it, if God favours me and my son with life, one, if not both will come as soon as possible. Worminghurst he has at least resigned for sale; so that having conquered himself and wife too, who has cost me more money than she brought, by her unreasonable and for that reason imprudent obstinacy for dwelling there, to which she could have no pretence either by family or portion, but by being my son's impetuous inclination; and I wish she had brought more wisdom, since she brought so little money, to help the family. Worminghurst giveth some land to

[1] George Whitehead, William Marks, Thomas Lowrie. — L.

[2] There are two persons of this name mentioned in these letters: one, Mayor of the city about this time; the other, as here expressed, of the Lower Counties. — L.

be sold in Ireland, about £45 per annum, will lighten his load, as well as mine; for his marriage, and my daughter's too, have not helped me — his, to be sure, more especially. We are entering, or it seems likely we should, into nearer friendship than before, he knowing the world and duty to a father better; for he has been of no use, but much expense and grief to me many ways and years too, losing him before I found him, being not of that service and benefit to me that some sons are, and 'tis well known I was to my father before I married. But oh! if yet he will recommend himself, and show himself a good child and a true Friend, I shall be pleased, and leave the world with less concern for him and the rest also.

As for Governour's salary, I expect to be re-embursed out of what the people have given, and if he has £400 per annum, your money paid, the rest I expect both of the people's gift, as well as my own fines and forfeitures. I cannot add more, and shall think it a mercy if thou gets this safe, considering the wickedness of men. I yet hope for another post, the wind coming about, and is to-night N.W. in their teeth. All our loves are to thee, but W. A. [William Aubrey] a tiger against thee for returns. Come not to him empty, as thou valuest thy credit and comfort. I am oppressed too much. Prospects dark for the publick, yet a good peace hoped for. Give honest and wise Samuel Carpenter, Caleb Pusey, T. Masters, Griffith Owen, and I hope Thomas Story too, my dear love, not forgetting Captain Hill and his sweet wife; indeed all that love the truth in its simplicity, my love, and my forgiveness for the rest. My God has not yet forsaken nor yet forgotten me in all respects. Blessed be his name! Isaac Norris, his wife and children, are well, much respected for his own merit, and a little for my sake, a masterpiece of his education. I could not correct the copy of this, being in haste, nor have I a copy in my own head, tho' I may pretty well remember it. My love to all that deserve it from me, friends or others, on both sides the water, beginning with Governour and Council, &c. I am,

Thy real friend,

Wm. Penn.

Isaac Norris to James Logan.

London, 14*th* 5*th-mo.*, 1707.

Dear Friend James Logan: — I am indebted for thine of 10th mo. 20th, which is still the latest date I have from Pennsylvania. I observe your perplexities, and that thy share is not the least, and am concerned, with much trouble thereat, tho' 'tis some comfort that I am out of the way of it. However, since my coming hither, some serious and sorrowful reflections upon the present state of poor Pennsylvania have presented themselves, and they give a melancholy and discouraging prospect. The ingratitude of the Lieutenant-Governour to his friends, that had stag'd[1] themselves to serve him, the disposition and thwarting designs of others, the heightening of parties, the decay of trade, and the discredit the country lies under here, the Proprietor's hard circumstances with Ford and his other involvings, his placing all upon that country, and expectations of more from it than it is able or willing to do, with other contingencies, and the confusions in view, makes me almost wish I had no obligations there.

Thou wilt expect, perhaps, a more particular account than I am able to give of that matter here. What I can say follows: —

Three months ago B. Coole was in town; he and I had several meetings with Philip Ford, and at last brought him to promise that upon the Proprietor's producing him security, good men, such as he should approve of, to be bound to pay whatever was awarded, he would consent to leave the whole matter to indifferent men, to be chosen; and when the Proprietor thereupon was getting his security, and some Friends went to see whether the old woman was consenting, she pretended her son had never said anything of it to her, and refused; and the son, when taxed with this, said, he never intended to trouble his mother about it till he saw the security, nor would himself say whether he would consent till then; so that it looked tricking and was dropt. In the 3d-month came on a hearing before the Lord Chancellor, who declared, that let the accounts be ever so unreasonable, that,

[1] [*Sic.* — Editor.]

considering the repeated closures, deeds, and confirmations thereupon, he would not set such a precedent as unravelling the accounts would be, tho' he were to pay the money himself, yet dropt several expressions that we think it is his opinion that it will not exceed a mortgage. Since then has been a trial at common law, they having arrested him as their tenant for above £2,000, for rent due since the deed of sale and lease; and upon some mislaying their action, it came to a special verdict, and that put off till Michaelmas Term; and thus the matter lies. They have spread reports about the country, that he is a prisoner in the fleet, and are very bold with his reputation in all their discourses of him. There has been some expectation of lumping it, from some former conversation of Philips, but he now appears averse, but whether real, or as a shoeing horn, we are not certain. However, to oblige George Whitehead and some others, E. Hartwell, Jos. Wright, Jno. Fræme, Jos. and Sylvanus Grove, with others whose names I've forgot, have perused the whole accounts from the beginning, and as one man declare they never saw nor heard of the like extortion. They have, I think, given in their report to G. W. to shew the widow and to try what he can do to bring them to reason. I have not seen it, but hear from good hands that they find Philip Ford has received the Proprietor's money above £17,000, and has paid out, by all his own accounts, but about £16,000, and yet only from salary, interest, transfer money, and I know not what other names this unreasonable balance has arisen, and that, they stating the accounts with all reasonable favour to Ford, as allowing salary, interest, &c., there is not above £4,000, or betwixt £4,000 and £5,000, due.

The Proprietor is under other incumbrances, and his friends have had several meetings to think of the best way for him to wind out and assist him; but this is not ripe enough to give you any account of.

I have been very cautious of saying anything more than direct answering to questions about Governour Evans, but I perceive there is intention to remove him; but whether it be for any other reason than putting his son in, I must not determine. My opinion was asked of that, and I as frankly gave it, that I thought our place, all circumstances considered, required as

good a head as most of the other plantations; a great deal of prudence amongst Friends and their opposers, the Proprietor's interest and the people's, with some particulars, which need not repeat. . . . . .

As to the Act of Qualification, he, the Proprietor, at first upon my arrival, said to me that he could or should not endeavour its confirmation. I begged him to hear me [as] to his objections, and not be too hasty in dropping it, unless he could find out some better way to ease us of the Queen's orders, or get somewhat explanatory of it. I believe thou knowest his opinion of that; but I know not who will be the cat's-paw. And then he tells us of recurring to the old law, confirmed in Fletcher's time, about the manner of giving evidence; and thou knowest what was said against that, when we insisted upon it at the Council Board, the same as to the Act of Qualification, as at first. Thou knowest what Friends this may be communicated to — Samuel Carpenter, Brother Hill, and Caleb (Pusey) especially, for I mention little or nothing to brother or S. C.

I now conclude, with dear love to all Friends and neighbours. My wife and son Tommy well. Their love to you all.

Thy real friend, Is. Norris.

Isaac Norris to Joseph Pike.

Birmingham, 30*th* 5*th-mo.*, 1707.

. . . . . I am heartily sorry to see some of my neighbours, from I know not what principle, continue so restless and complaining, when, unless it be the thirst of power, to crush and injure their neighbours and pre-adventurers. I know of nothing they can want in respect to ease under the Government; and to me it seems very hard, while themselves already enjoy almost all the places of profit, that they cannot permit our Friends to hold and act in such places as may secure to us our freedom in the enjoyment of our principles, which is all we aim at. And I freely confess it is my private opinion, that if some preliminaries could be settled to secure us in that point and our rights as Englishmen, I care not how soon those men had the Government,

or at least unexceptionable men of the Church of England. For I must confess I cannot think some of those that seek it the best qualified for impartial justice, and declare freely, I account that part which our Friends hold, which is just as our case stands, as holding a wolf by the ears.

'Tis no hard matter, at this distance, for people to give things quite another figure and face, than they have on the spot; but it is not so easy to confute that and set things in a true light, where the circumstances of place are not so fully known, tho' before men of the best sense and judgment. But that law about qualification of officers, and manner of giving evidence, was very fully debated in a free conference between the Council and Assembly before the Lieutenant-Governour, at which Council there were five or six that were not Quakers, viz., Wm. Trent and Joseph Pidgeon, and of Quakers, besides the Secretary, but Thomas Story and Griffith Owen, and but . . . . . ,[1] and the former of these two, thou knowest for what reason, said nothing for it, and I well remember, not one of those gentlemen offered to deny the superiority of numbers, when it was modestly and of necessity urged, and then offered to be made appear that in the two counties of Bucks and Chester it was impossible to find men enough, that even themselves could think fit, for magistrates, officers, and jurors, tho' indeed one of them answered there might be a way found to carry such when occasion called, from Philadelphia county; and of such as could not take an oath, there were those undoubtedly superior in the other two counties, three or four to one. It was offered that murder, or the highest crimes, might be committed in the sight of a sufficient number of witnesses of good fame, yet if a swearer was not present, the criminal might escape, and the same in civil cases. And it is for this reason, the want of a jury of the vicinity more than that of magistrates, that with great reason the preamble of that law declares that there might be a failure of justice. At the close of the debate the Lieutenant-Governour declared it in his thoughts highly reasonable, considering the granted superiority of numbers, and how our Friends had laid out themselves and

[1] [Blank in the original. — EDITOR.]

estates in the first settling of the country, that we should enjoy the freedom proposed.

If by what they talk of destroying the present settlement, both ecclesiastical and civil, he means Pennsylvania, I know no settlement there contrary to the thing proposed; but if he means that of England, 'tis ridiculous.

But why may not that which is indulgence in England, be extended to America to a qualification? especially to that Province where the bulk and circumstances of the people so much require it; and if I take it right, the Queen's order about administering of oaths or affirmations makes what I say appear reasonable. . . . . .

Upon the whole, nothing less than blowing us out of all is aimed at, or will satisfy. I cannot but observe it is an unaccountable itch of ambition, or bias to a party that must actuate a man to join in such a petition who has to me declared his dislike of such complaints, as well as the arbitrary proceedings of some of those sticklers, and that we were an unhappy people that did not know when we were well.

To the best of my remembrance, that clause of taking depositions was copied from a law of Barbadoes, or some other of the Queen's plantations, which was understood to be allowed.[1]

Thy friend, Is. Norris.

Isaac Norris to Richard Hill.

London, *1st 8br*, 1707.

Dear Brother Richard Hill:—I have thine of the 22d 5th-mo., giving me a full account of that dangerous trial of skill at New Castle, which I have communicated to the Proprietor, and

[1] [This clear statement should convince not only as to the justice, but the policy of the Act of Qualification. The Friends had in the settlement of the Province every reason to hope that their rights of conscience would always be respected, and that this was not the case to the extent it should have been, was owing as much to the unworthy conduct of some who claimed to belong to their persuasion, as to those who entirely differed from their religious views, and adhered to the Church of England. — Editor.]

urged the repeal of that law strenuously. He is very much concerned to hear of these kind of doings by a man whom he thought sure in his interest. I am sorry to see our Lieutenant-Governour so infatuated as not to know his own interest. I am sure to deal so by the Province, as he has done since their handsome provision for him; and to go in person, where nothing of his office obliged, on purpose to oppose one who from the beginning had been so much his friend, denotes great ingratitude.

The Proprietor's thoughts now are of a fit person, and has often pressed it upon me to name one, since I have been so free in my opinion against Wm. Penn, Jr., as not suitable, and I presume even to disgust, but I avoided that, being truly unable to think properly. Judge Mompesson was mentioned, and yet I don't know whether that will do. But in this 'tis best for you to be perfectly silent as to any reports. Till 'tis done, unless you can advise timely to the Proprietor, I am afraid this business of the New Castle law[1] will be a trial of skill here, and considering the Proprietor's title of government in the Lower Counties, perhaps Evans thinks to secure himself there, and so may be a thorn in our sides. I had hinted this when I last saw the Proprietor, which was five days ago, and he had that very day received James Logan's pacquet, which contained the relation of the New Castle business, and depositions for and against. Be assured I shall use all my endeavours for the good of that country, which I am so engaged in and love. . . . . .

Thy affectionate brother, ISAAC NORRIS.

ISAAC NORRIS TO SAMUEL CARPENTER.

[*Extract.*] LONDON, *October 3d*, 1707.

DEAR FRIEND: — Whilst I was at Dolobran,[2] in the 6th-mo., I received thy pacquet per Read, via Ireland, who was taken and ransomed, containing thine of the 30th 3d-mo., with a copy of the

[1] [The Act relating to a fort, and the demand for powder-money, already largely referred to. — EDITOR.]

[2] DOLOBRAN, the seat of the Lloyds of Wales, of which family Isaac Norris' wife was a descendant. — L.

intended letter to Friends here, another of the 12th, and another of the 24th 4th-mo. . . . . I quickly communicated to the Proprietor that copy, and the original may be seasonable, if that composition goes on, as has been sometimes probable, but has lately met a full stop by an odd caprice of Wm. Meade's, who has some influence with the Fords, and 'tis thought is their abettor. He, upon application of some Friends, had promised his utmost, and had given some expectations that for £5,000 or £6,000, or, at the utmost, £7,000 or £8,000, the matter should be compromised. But when the Friends came on the day appointed to know what was done, he told them the query run through him from the Lord, "How can I be instrumental to clear Wm. Penn of this incumbrance, and set or establish him in that Government over that people, until he redresses their grievances, and eases them of their abuses?" or somewhat like this, and so insists on his signing a paper, promising to relieve, redress, ease, and to right the people of Pennsylvania; which words, and the form of the paper, he apprehending a confession to the unjust charges made by some there, he refuses to sign, and so the matter now stands.

Walter Miers and William Cronch are not for running the lengths of the other three, viz., G. W., W. M., and T. K. Whatever grievances we have or complaints to make, it has always been my opinion they should be asked in a civiler manner than some have thought fit to do, and that without a mixture of falsities and absurdities. But for any to put it to this issue, that he must confess all by wholesale, and promise amendment too, and to insist upon it at this juncture and upon this occasion, is unfriendly, if not cruel. Much might be said on this affair, but the short of it is, many difficulties are raised against the compounding it, yet we are not without hopes; tho' if somewhat be not done before the next Term, 'tis too much feared they will gain a decree, and he resolves to appeal to the House of Lords; tho' there are hopes, from a powerful quarter that it is not proper to mention, that they will be obliged to make it up ere it runs that length; and I presume they may be apprehensive of this from their petitioning the Queen the other day to put them in possession, which, because the law has not brought it to that

point, is thought only an artifice, by a lamentable dress of the case in the name of the widow and fatherless, to prepossess the Court, &c. Be not you amused at the noise of this petition, decrees, or his being a prisoner, or the point wholly gained, &c., for a deal of that is industriously handed about by his adversaries, and many people in the country believe, from the frequent false reports thereof, that he is now actually a prisoner, which is all sham, and I believe is the thing they dread, and therefore feel his pulse by these reports, that he will throw himself in the fleet and leave them to find a way to possess themselves of the country, if things should come to that issue. I note what thou says fully about the New Castle law, of which I have also a full account from brother Hill. I have communicated what I thought proper of thy thoughts to the Proprietor thereupon. I dined yesterday with Arthur Evans, a wine merchant, uncle of our Lieutenant-Governour. I had some free discourse with him about this alarm and the New Castle law. He expressed himself sorry to hear the reports that daily come, did expect otherwise, and says he can't forgive him, if he proves ungrateful to Governour Penn, and he writes to him . . . . . Friends' address from Long Island about the Connecticut law, was well received, and is published in the gazette . . . . . .

Thy cordial friend, ISAAC NORRIS.

This very evening I came from the Chamber where was Governour Penn, George Whitehead, W. Mead, &c., with several Friends. G. W. has behaved very coolly, and yet I really hope aims at accommodating the matters. I have taken off a great deal of the edge of that remonstrance of 1704, by assuring them that although David Lloyd has signed it, as Speaker of the House and by order, yet it never regularly passed the Assembly, or was read there, and so told them the truth of the whole matter, to the best of my memory and the greatest softness and caution I could.

[*Postscript.*] *7th 8br*, 1707.

Governour Penn has signed a paper, directed to thee, Griffith Owen, and Thos. Story, which stops Wm. Mead's mouth. But I think there are some things in the complaint from the Assembly

of 1706, that deserve a more particular answer and care to have amended, and I have, between ourselves, expressed myself to the Proprietor, and shall push it by myself, and his friends here, at proper seasons; for I am for having right things done, and no just complaints left for a handle to those who may be glad of them. However, what is done serves to the purpose. William Mead is now gone down, and we shall to-morrow tell if anything is like to be done. I cannot get that School Charter executed, tho' I have pursued and made three or four journeys on purpose that I might send one per this fleet. The Proprietor has put it in Counsellor West's hands (and Herbert Springett having made several objections), to peruse and judge what he can legally do that may stand; they both talk it must not be confined to Friends by name, but may name such as we can confide in for their behaviour, and further choice, and somewhat further, which I thought would injure our design and good purpose. So 'tis left at present, till we can think better of it.

These complaints, the business of the Fords, taking up all the time and discourses when we can get together.

Thine, I. Norris.

William Penn, to Samuel Carpenter, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, Caleb Pusey, Rowland Ellis, Richard Hill.

London, *7th 8th-mo.*, 1707.

Dear Friends and Brethren:—In the ancient tender love that long since hath engaged our hearts to the Lord, and in Him to one another, I salute you.

And whereas there has been communicated to me, by George Whitehead, William Meade, and Thomas Lower, the copy of an address made to me from the last Assembly of Pennsylvania, held 1706, containing complaints of divers unfair and injurious things in the administration of the Government, I have, at the request, and out of desire to satisfy the inhabitants in their just and reasonable expectations, writ to my Deputy Governour to exert the utmost of his authority to punish vice, and in order to it, to reduce the number of publick houses, and that such as are

allowed within the city be recommended to him by the magistrates of the city, and for the county by the justices thereof in open sessions. I have also severely checked his treatment of the constable at Philadelphia, and also the countenance he seemed to give to the false and reprovable alarm that so much disturbed the people. I have also shewn my great dissatisfaction, indeed abhorrence, the late treatment of my friends in the Lower Counties by the militia law, and far beyond, which I shall take all possible care here to prevent being confirmed; and in the meantime I have ordered him to stop all such proceedings and prevent them for the future. And in other matters wherein the inhabitants are really aggrieved, and which is in my power to redress, I shall not be wanting therein; of all which I refer you to my Deputy Governour, Council and Assembly, as you shall find occasion to make your address and application unto them. I shall add no more, but my best wishes for your and the whole people's prosperity, being their and your loving friend,

Wm. Penn.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, 16*th* 8*th-mo.*, 1707.

I have writ by Captain Hamilton and Richard Townsend. One I hope is there, the other in the bay of the Nore, for the first fair winds. This goes by the West India pacquet boat, inclosed by Sylvanus Grove to his brother John, to send thee by the first conveyance. Now know that divers of my friends, to whom I am indebted, as per bonds, as notes and book debts, clear me here for bills, at six months, sight, upon what is owing me there, and that is in thy hands, the account of which is, on the other side, a great relief to me from clamour and charge here, and the greatest benefit that place (Pennsylvania) has yet yielded me. Pray comply therewith, and that in a respectful manner, and what thou canst not do in time, having so copious a fund, to be sure my friends there will assist thee, upon credit thereof, to comply handsomely with the said bills. I have drawn them at sixty per cent. I can say no more of that. If the compromise with Fords take not, the Lords this session will hear of us, if not

relieved at the hearing of the cause finally in Chancery, which is not yet done. And do all of you, that are in my service and interest, keep your ground, and advise with Judge Mompesson in every point of law. They stickle for possession,[1] but foolishly, and pray give no just occasion, and stand firm.

Thine of the 5th-month came first, the 17*s.* 5*d.* pacquet came via Ireland, perhaps per Thomas Guy, which thou might have hindered if superscribed to "J. Lewis, Member of Parliament, at the Secretary's Office, at Whitehall." He is Under-Secretary to Robert Harley, Principal Secretary of State. Remember the lots by Hugh Durberow's, and quiet R. Rakestraw, that poor restless man. My dear love to friends that are really so, and salutes to the Governour and Council. Vale.

Thy real friend, WM. PENN.

P. S. — Remember to clear off Haigh's pretensions. He offered for £10 a release of the equity. Get one at any reasonable rate. I mean at £20, rather than fail. Next, pray quiet Jacob Simcock, that threatens me with laying his grievance before Friends, if not complied with. I send thee a letter also from Father Callowhill, in his affairs, which pray observe, as also about the lots. Quiet and keep in good humour T. Fairman, and be easy to all in general, and just also to all, not leaving me out of that direction. 9br 6th. Vale.

Thy real friend, WM. PENN.

I desire those that take the growth (produce) may be accommodated to content at current prices.

ISAAC NORRIS TO HIS RELATIONS.

LONDON, *4th 9br*, 1707.[2]

DEAR RELATIONS: —. . . . . There is no prospect of the Governour's business ending with the Fords, they being extremely averse to, and slight any proposals; but the law must

[1] The widow and children of Philip Ford for the possession of Pennsylvania, which was mortgaged to them. — L.

[2] [From the Norris MSS. — EDITOR.]

determine, and the Term is coming on. However, he is like to be a clear man by all other incumbrances. Worminghurst, that has been these many years a charge, and little profit, is sold well, and many debts are paid off by bills on Pennsylvania. Some friends have been industrious in this, that if that of Ford's should go against him, his and friends' reputation may stand the clearer, having nothing but that unreasonable debt upon him. I have nothing more, but our dear love to you all, to our children and friends, heartily, and remain,

Your affectionate brother, Is. Norris.

Isaac Norris to Samuel Carpenter.

London, *6th 9th-br*, 1707.

Dear Friend, Samuel Carpenter:—I cannot yet get the School Charter, the counsel having not yet given his opinion upon it. I have pressed the necessity of sending it by this fleet, because of probable safety, and told the Proprietor that I feared I should be accounted a negligent steward. But I seldom see him, and when I do, his own affairs are so much upon the anvil, that it is hard to get anything forward. If thou remember, I was also desired by our monthly meeting to seek for a schoolmaster. I have omitted no opportunity in town or country to inquire, but can yet hear of no one likely that is willing to go.

Perhaps David Lloyd may be uneasy or displeased at the certificate I have given under my hand, at the request of G. W., &c., concerning the printed remonstrance of 1704. I was, with several friends, at the chamber, and when I saw the great stress laid upon it, as from an Assembly, by William Meade especially, and that in that remonstrance of 1706 a reference was insinuated to former complaints, and in the margin, I could not forbear telling them that remonstrance was not fair, nor gained above board. The copy of my certificate runs thus:

"I having been a Member of Assembly of Pennsylvania, in the year 1704, do certify and declare, that this foregoing paper, called a Representation of the Freemen of Pennsilvania dated the 25th

day of 6th-mo., 1704, signed as above, by David Lloyd, Speaker, did never duly pass the said Assembly, nor was it once read therein. Witness my hand, &c."

Perhaps David Lloyd may pretend, because I have so worded the certificate, it is an evasion, and not a full declaration of the matter; but I do assure thee I acquainted Friends with a full and true state of the matter, viz., that they read heads in the Assembly, have a minute for drawing it up,[1] and who were appointed to do it, and how many of those concerned acted in it. Likewise the concern of some Friends about it; and they being all along refused a copy, upon which G. W. declared it wrong, and that it was his opinion nothing ought to pass under the authority of the Assembly without being first perfected and read therein, and thereupon pressed me to give it him under my hand that it was never read in the Assembly, from whence it was dated. I have got a copy of the remonstrance, and 'tis pretty enough to see Griffith Jones' and David Lloyd's memorandum upon their second sending it, after the first was lost.

I am thy cordial friend, ISAAC NORRIS.

ISAAC NORRIS TO ——— MOORE.

LONDON, *7th 9br*, 1707.[2]

Governour Penn is well. His business with D. Ford, 'tis expected, will come to trial this Term. Everybody fears the law will go against him, notwithstanding the great injustice done him in the accounts, which stands very plain to everybody that understands and sees them, because he has foreclosed himself by so many repeated acts of assurances. He is in expectation of relief from the House of Lords. We were in hopes to have the matter compounded, but 'tis all off again, and the Fords are stiff for their whole demand, now above £14,000, when upon the best calculation there cannot justly be £6,000 due. How-

[1] [Which means, we presume, that the heads or minutes for drawing up the representation were read in the Assembly. — EDITOR.]

[2] [From the Norris MSS. — EDITOR.]

ever, the Governour is paying off all his other debts, and will be a clear man to all but this. With our near and dear love to thyself, dear sister, coz. Richard, and all the family, and to our son, I conclude.

Your affectionate and obliged brother, I. Norris.

Isaac Norris to James Logan.

London, 11*th* 9*br*, 1707.

My Friend, James Logan: — I have had none from thee a long while, nor have I much to say worth thy hearing; but the Proprietor sending me a letter to forward, I take the occasion to tell thee we are all well, and have been in town from our country expedition nearly three weeks. I need say nothing of the Proprietor's affairs; to be sure thou hast them fully, and I have not been in his company since I last came to town. There is no prospect of any other closure with Fords at present, I think, than what the law or House of Lords shall make. However, he is like to be a clear man as to all other incumbrances. Worminghurst is sold well, and thou wilt see bills to a considerable value. I have been persuaded to negotiate one, I think the largest, viz., William Buckfield's, for £608. I have sent it to brother Preston for acceptance. I understand he has been an old servant and friend of the Governour, and the debt has been ready money lent, and to do it, has dipt a little estate of his own; a weak, honest man is his character, and several of the Governour's friends, tho' they would have all done honourably, yet seem to be more particularly in care for him than others. I request thee, therefore, to put good bonds into hand. I think 'tis no crime to ask the best, and if I come not in time enough, pay such as may make returns for the £108 in the best manner thou can, for I perceive that is depended upon to clear Buckfield's estate here. Brother Preston will show thee the order he has.

A party here are in great expectations that there will be strong factions in this Parliament, and that there will be

"glorious work," as a young gentleman of thy acquaintance was pleased to word it. They say Whig is to dash Whig; but I hope all will be but little noise, and their wonted clamour for their beginning looks well. The Queen's speech I send thee, and this night an Address of Thanks is voted, where they promise, as I am credibly informed, their utmost assistance for recovering the monarchy of Spain, securing Portugal, and assisting the Duke of Savoy, and will give timely and full supplies for prosecuting the war. The Parliament of Ireland is up, with satisfaction to the Parliament and honour to Lord Pembroke. 'Tis talked he is to come over shortly to an higher post here, &c.

I think of no more, but wish thee a good pilot through thy trouble. Thou hast enemies there and here. Let all thy aims be just and honourable, and then a good conscience will stand by thee, and all will end well. Remember me to all my friends heartily, and accept the good wishes and love of,

Thy real friend, Is. Norris.

Isaac Norris to Richard Hill.

London, *29th 9br*, 1707.

. . . . . I have now only to add that last Fifth-day the special verdict at common law, for the rent, as they call it, on the lease, went against Wm. Penn. 'Tis no more than was to be expected, yet I perceive it goes near him to think of a prison, now it comes too, tho' it has been his friends' as well as his own opinion that he ought to do it rather than pay the money, which, with costs, is near £3,000, and thereby bear his testimony as honourably against the extortion and fraud of that account, as against other evils, and bear it as a persecution. How it will be I cannot yet say, but believe in a few days he must yield up, or abscond till the next Term, when the principal [will] be determined in Chancery, and he must appeal to the House of Lords.

No doubt but James Logan has a copy of the state of the account as it was drawn up by four able men, and who are ready to stand by it, whereby it appears that Philip Ford received about

£17,000 of Wm. Penn, and paid for him but about £16,000, from first to last, by his own account; and yet his high balance of £10,500 has arisen therefrom by the several unaccountable modes and articles of accounts there noticed. But the strange infatuation that should lead a man never to show this to any friend whatsoever, before he had so clinched and closed it, is not to be paralleled nor exceeded in a man of his sense otherways. Thy affectionate brother, Is. Norris.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, 5*th-mo.* 11*th*, 1707–8.

Honoured Governour: — By this same opportunity I wrote to thee the 22d ult. This comes now to acknowledge the receipts of thine, on the 31st, by John Hamilton, who then sent it from Burlington, but have not yet seen him. All thy true friends here were greatly in pain that they heard nothing from thee by Hamerton, but this gives them great satisfaction, to find there is yet a prospect opened for thee to spend thy future days with some ease, and to remove the unhappiness as well as dishonour that would have ensued upon Ford's deeds, giving them an estate in fee. If the House of Lords give relief against that oppressive and unjust sum, it will rejoice us greatly.

I shall now, as briefly as I can, take notice of the chief heads of thy letter.

If the bills on Wm. Aubrey's account are protested, I wish there had been the common care that is usual taken to send back those protests that we might manage them, for delays in those cases are dangerous. I am confined to send nothing but bills, which are not to be had but by trading to Maryland; and even that way there are scarce any that are good, so shall choose to decline the concern. By Isaac Norris I sent him an account of his affairs here. I have very little, if anything, of his but bonds in my hands, which I shall readily resign to any other person, but I cannot but admire that there is not any notice taken of what I writ of so largely by I. N., viz., his keeping the principal here, and yet expecting the interest.

I shall take what methods I can to send thee supplies, but payments have been made at a stand, and remittances are exceeding difficult. There is above £500 of thy money coming by the ship *Diligence*, of which have wrote so often.

I have wrote so fully about thy Jersey concerns last Summer, and now, (if I can, send a duplicate,) that it is needless to mention them further here. I have made the tenants of Salem Neck generally agree to pay, but can get very little—they are exceedingly poor.

Robert's widow, without my knowledge, sold her right to Thomas Fress, who gave more for it than it was worth to him; but believe it might be purchased again, tho' I cannot see the advantage of doing it at present.

The Sasquehannagh Purchase is void of itself.

I have not yet discoursed T. Fairman about those great tracts of land. Thou fully knows my opinion of the man, and time does not alter it. His letter, perhaps, may be of service to thee, but there 's little more than wind in him.

I have laid aside all thoughts of coming over ever since the spring. F. S., who is a joint attorney with me for the Jerseys, took the best advice we could about Coxe's business, and believe the mortgage was real, and never cleared; he produced all the deeds regularly, and gave them up upon the purchase.

I wish we could do more with David Lloyd; but the country is disobliged, and thy affairs at home being under such a cloud, it bears him up, and will do against all attacks till a change come.

Those who wrote against the law for attests, are the members of Council of the Church party; therefore, I suppose, J. Moore signed not with them; but I may venture to say, that if the country lose that bill, they will think it a damage scarce repairable, and the generality exceedingly troubled if thou dost not befriend it. Isaac Norris' judgment, as in all other things go in that particular, deserves to be valued; but he seems to be much troubled at matters with you. 'Tis reported here that almost all the laws are laid aside, and that, for a supply, declared to be void, *ab initio.*

Col. Quarry has carried it well, but the news we had 5th-mo.

last of thy affairs in Chancery, put a stop to our bargain, tho' the articles were signed. I have mentioned the rent in former letters.

I have not yet discoursed Governour Evans about his salary, but left I. Jeffrey's letter, which is very full to the point, with him, and shall take the first convenient opportunity of doing it, but know not how anything will be paid him after the triennial act for a supply has expired, except out of thy pocket, for the country, I believe, will never give more under the present administration. He thinks of settling here, and would buy Nelson's plantation, which Thomas Fairman made over to his brother Robert, and has requested me to write to Robert about it.

I observe thy orders in remembering thee to honest-hearted Friends, to whom that part of thy letter is a great consolation. I hope Isaac Norris has been of service to thee. Thy character of him is certainly his due; his judgment even requires a good one to know its value.

Here is a commission from the Chancery to J. Moore and Alexr. Paston, naming also S. Carpenter and R. Ashton, sent by Ford, but no counterpart from thee. There is nothing done in it, nor do they design, J. Moore tells me, to use it.

Nobody has attourned to David Lloyd, and I hope from thy last letter to persuade several to pay, tho' if I had the money, I should scarce know what to do with it.

Our mill proves the unhappiest thing of the kind that ever man, I think, was engaged in. If ill luck can attend any place more than another, it may claim a charter for it. I wish it were sold.

'Tis unkind in owners of land resident there (England) not to pay their rents when demanded, seeing they have none to answer for them here; but were thy affairs settled, they may happen to pay dearer for them.

'Tis no less than four years since that bill of J. Regnier's, now sent back to me, and which I received but last week, and never heard of it before, was protested at London. He has entirely left Maryland, and therefore believe the bill can scarce be recovered, it being now three years since I told him I thought it was paid,

having heard nothing to the contrary, and the drawer, I think, is dead.

I am, with all due respects to thyself and family,

Thy most obedient, J. Logan.

Isaac Norris to Richard Hill.

London, 10*th* 11*th-mo.*, 1707–8.

Dear Brother Richard Hill: — Governour Penn was last Fourth-day arrested at Grace Church street meeting, by order of Philip Ford, on an execution on the special verdict for about £3,000 rent. He has, by the advice of all his best friends, turned himself over to the fleet. I was to see him last night at his new lodgings in the Old Bailey. He is cheery, and will bear it well, and 'tis thought no better way to bring them to terms. At some there are hopes of a composition, at other times they appear cold and hardened, so that there is no judgment to be made how it will terminate. I have taken some pains, and sometimes seem to have an interest with them, but when they get with their lawyers all is blown. The principal debt for the country is not yet decided, and 'tis questionable whether this Term will do it, tho' now 'tis Wm. Penn's aim to issue it, and bring it to the House of Lords.

This act of theirs, with the aggravation of dogging with bailiffs to a meeting, makes a great noise everywhere, but especially among Friends, and people, who did not much trouble themselves before, now appear warm, and I hope still a good issue. . . . . .

Isaac Norris to Joseph Pike.

London, 27*th* 11*th-mo.*, 1707–8.

. . . . . As to Governour Evans' behaviour, 'tis no news. We have been promised his removal, but a fit man is wanting, and I doubt will be hard to get, as our Proprietor's circumstances now are; for, to speak my mind under the rose, I doubt if the prop-

erty goes, the Government will not hold long. Neither was the Assembly's vote against James Logan news to me; but I take a great deal of that to be malice, and mostly arises from a party cause, and as I hear they can make out little, but all this I leave.

Governour Penn was on the 7th instant at Grace Church street meeting, and there dogged by the bailiffs, per Ford's order. Henry Goldney and Herbert Springett prevented their taking him out of the gallery by their promise he should come to them in a few hours, which he accordingly did, and then by a *Habeas Corpus* turned himself over to the fleet, where he has commodious lodgings, and we hope is pretty easy. I have been several times to see him, and he sent for me this evening. The Fords might have saved themselves some reflections if they had forbore such an aggravation, as taking him at meeting, for as soon as this term came on the bail must have surrendered him, and he would have become a prisoner of course. I presume that thou understands that this execution is upon a judgment at common law for rent, as they call the interest of their money, because they had an absolute deed of sale, and he a lease thereupon for three years, tho' the Chancellor's decree is not yet given for the principal or country. Thou desirest me to write fully of this matter, and seems disappointed at my omission, but I do assure thee it has not been from a laziness, or for want of inclination to please thee; but the matter has been, ever since I have been in England, so tossed, bandied, and uncertain how it would fall, and after all the various prospects and faces it has made, and then return to its first chaos again, appears still so uncertain, that I know not what judgment to make, or whether it will have any other issue than that of the law. Many, as friends to one side or the other, and some both, have undertaken to propose an accommodation, and by the pretences and seeming hearkening of the Fords, some have hoped a good issue; but all has proved abortive, and by tampering, for aught I know, 'tis made worse. Since Thomas Cuppage went away I have been with them, for till the imprisonment I held pretty fair, and after some close discourse, I thought I had my finger on the place, telling them in plain I perceived where the pinch was. The Governour would not advance his £5,000, because they came

not down at all, and they seemed to be afraid of proposing a less sum than what they accounted their due, lest, if they did not agree, such a condescension might injure their cause; therefore, if they would accept of me, or any other person they could confide in, that might without a direct treaty know their minds, and if any probability appeared of their coming near each other, a way might be found to issue it safely enough; and promised if it was me, they should have my word I would not discover the sum, unless I saw them close. This was to the mother and daughter, and they seemed to approve; and the daughter followed me down stairs, acknowledged my kind offer, and the old woman, who lies bed-ridden, told me she thought I was likely to do somewhat in it as anybody, *and offered to sell me the country*, and Philip was to meet me the next day. But instead of all this, he was taken up in two days after as above, and the next time I met Philip he told me, that if they should discover their minds to me, I might be called before a Master in Chancery, and there forced to declare what I knew. Upon the whole, they seem to be buoyed up by their lawyers, and 'tis a question with me whether they really intend ever to abate anything, but appear fond and big with the country, and some whisper that the young folks are for going over soon.[1] . . . . . .

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, 17*th* 12*th-mo.*, 1707–8.

Honoured Governour: — I send this chiefly to accompany the inclosed to William Aubrey, to whom, I think, I have very great occasion to write in such a strain. I, therefore, request thee to peruse it, and if thou thinks it by any means proper, to let it be sealed up, directed in some hand like mine, as J. Jeffery's, and delivered. I send it thus without cover to save postage, which is now very high to Boston.

[1] [This dissimulation on the part of mother, son, and daughter was, it seems, so complete, that Norris, who had proofs of their previous bad faith, was deceived by them. It is evident, we think, that the arrest of Penn had at this time been determined upon. — Editor.]

I most earnestly beseech thee to let me positively know, with certainty, whether W. Aubrey will expect, or can have, the interest of his wife's money, that I received in 1702, and the interest that has been paid to Rich'd Hill, &c., besides and whether that interest should continue to be paid Richard, as W. A.'s agent, when William will do nothing to make satisfactory titles to the people who pay their money or the interest.

William Rakestraw has had me before the meeting for not granting him the lot near the bridge, after Francis Plumstead had applied to thee for it, and, as he pretends here, got a grant for it; but the six Friends to whom it was referred, declared it as their sentiments, upon a full hearing, that William has no manner of claim to it, either in law or equity, but that he has had full satisfaction, and shall condemn and retract his abuse against thee especially, of which shall send copies when past in the meeting. There is a great mortality here amongst the poorer sort of people, but scarce any of note have died. I cannot add but that I am, as ever, &c., J. Logan.

Isaac Norris to Joseph Pike.

Philadelphia, *25th 12th-mo.*, 1707–8.[1]

Dear Friend Joseph Pike: — It is now above four months since I received thy acceptable and kind letter, per Penticoste Teague, but by reason of the winter have not till now had an opportunity of answering it. This is intended for our dear friend Patrick Henderson; and to him, if thou seest him, I refer for a more particular account of affairs here, public or private, than I can now give thee. I fully note and kindly receive thy brotherly and tender advice. Thy observations and expostulations are just, and thy humble way of introducing all does not pass unregarded. As to the particulars thou descends to, it shews thy thought and care for us. I have communicated it to my dearest, who joins me in the reception, and I hope shall both treasure it. I have also shown it to some of our near friends and relations, that they may be monitors on occasion. Being

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.]

very sensible that a prudent man may make both the advice of his friends and censures of his enemies, a glass to dress his thoughts and actions by. It is not improbable but upon this occasion of our punishing ourselves and family from England, something of what thou fears may have happened; but if it be, it will wear off; and yet I hope it is so little as hardly to be noticed, because I take the freedom to say so much to thee. Several of our friends have represented their satisfaction to see, as they said it, the same Isaac Norris to return.

I confess my own thoughts are too general, but universal, in these cases, to be very narrow in that way; yet I believe consideration is safest to that side where it gives most self-denial; and example, as thou hints, goes a great way to draw on others, whose abilities are not the same; yet I cannot see it reasonable that Joseph Pike and Samuel Combe should wear the same and live at the same rate within-doors. Thus, then, every man ought soberly and discreetly to set bounds to himself, and avoid extremes, still bearing due regard to the society he is of. And since I am thus led into these considerations, give me leave, dear Joseph, to give thee one thought more, which I often have, which is, that if we will be instrumental to the more general spreading of our noble principles, the light and manifestation of our blessed Lord, which, perhaps, I may call the most generous and universal possession in the world, we must not appear too narrow in other things to be particular. In what I mean by too narrow, might require more room than I shall take here; but that far I would venture to say, that, although in conversation among Friends it may be very well to be particular in such thoughts, yet for standing and public orders, and rules from churches and meetings, there should be a great care, and an eye always to the universal good, and unity of the same believers in divers nations. If I were to tell thee what answers and objections I have had from those with whom I have been vindicating the discipline of Ireland, thou would forgive me what is said above.

What thou mentions upon the receipt of my dear brother's letter is comfortable, tho' it a little revives the sense of that great loss to me. I could wish Providence had placed me nearer

thee, that I might place thee in his stead, which, with thy leave, I would be glad to do, tho' thus distanced.

And here also we must express somewhat of our concern for the loss of that sweet-tempered good woman and kind friend L. Haman. We are duly sensible of the great miss her husband, family, and you, her friends, have found thereby. The Lord, if it be his will, press these things rightly upon our thoughts, sanctify them to us, and prepare us for the like. My wife mourns for her as a relation, and I believe had asked her in her heart, among the Friends of Cork, next to yourselves, who she accounts as parents. I can never forget your tenderness in her weakness and long stay with you. Thou hast so repeatedly commanded my silence in this matter, that I think it is too much restraint upon an honest gratitude. However, my dear friend, thou wilt give us leave to think, and to talk too, among our relations here, who profess themselves joint debtors to you and yours. I may a little pleasantly tell thee, as I was bid to do so by one of them at my table, when the meat, the drink, and the talk was from and of you, that all they had ever seen, heard, or tasted, was good. And this leads me to a grateful acknowledgment of that acceptable present of French wine and salmon, per P. T. They came safe and proved excellent. Thou tells me of grinding out the marks of the bottles. No; they stand as a remembrancer, as well of the large measure and quality, as of the donor. But, in a word, and truly I am really ashamed of it, and could almost wish it handsome to pass it by in silence, that thou should still add, and we not know how or what to return.

I note what thou writes about thy MSS. I have heard of, but not seen yet that book of Bennet's, tho' I saw once the man at T. Sowles' shop. He seemed a smooth, silly man, and it is said his book is artful and oily, saving somewhat in the preface. If thine comes out, I could wish some here. Those ordinances, so called, being of late the great bait, and made use of to take some that hung loose among us, and none of late than could be wished, tho' the persons in themselves of no great value, if any, in the church; and it may be feared too, little partook of the inward table, nor much, if any, baptized there. Yet this stepping out makes a noise, and is magnified and improved by those

whose aim is to aggrandize themselves, and secure a good benefice by their merit that way.

Danl. Chanside, whom thou recommended, has been but once or twice at my house. He is going very soon to the country.

I should have told thee earlier that we had a good passage, tho' somewhat hot, and ten weeks. Found all our children and relations well, and so remain until this time, for which great mercy I hope we shall always be truly thankful. Your little fellow is very lusty and lively — a welcome stranger here — and I hope will be no discredit to this country. He is backward in his tongue, but quick enough in his little thinkings and signals. My love to T. C. when thou seest him. We have advice from the Proprietor of the full agreement with the Fords, but no account yet if the writings were signed. Our new Governour Gookin is arrived. I now conclude, with a great deal of love in my heart to thee, thy wife and children, and all friends.

Thy affectionate friend, ISAAC NORRIS.

ISAAC NORRIS TO JOSEPH PIKE.

LONDON, *Feb.* 26, 1707–8.[1]

DEAR FRIEND: . . . . . In my last I wrote thee pretty largely about Governour Penn's matters, [which] lie much as they were. No further prospect of an accommodation, nothing new, only that they have preferred a petition to the Queen, requesting to be put in possession of the country by her, for, by the way, 'tis thought, when they are over with all the law they can have here, it may be a difficulty to get possession, and as I understand, request her to take the Government that there may be now under him there; because such will be partial, and the Queen has remanded it to the Lord Chancellor, who has twice appointed a hearing, but it did not come on.

Thomas Ellwood has not been well lately, but is better. He is a prisoner on account of tithes, but has the liberty of being at home. Several friends are now attending the Parliament in order to get the affirmation easier, and some think it now a very

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — EDITOR.]

proper time. If anything is done, I shall advise thee. I think of no more, but dear love to you all, and remain thy loving and lastingly obliged friend, Is. Norris.

William Penn to ———.[1]

28th 12th-mo., 1707.

Dear Fr'd. — Please to send this, because it is too late for me to write to my Secretary and friends in Pennsylvania, to let them know that my adversary's petition to the Queen, to be put into possession of my country, before a decree obtained, and the cause heard in Chancery, &c., was last night dismissed as improper and unreasonable, which perhaps may put those furious ingrates to think of an accommodation, which is much desired by Friends. Please to direct this to James Logan, Secretary of Pennsylvania, and entrust it with Richard Townsend, to whom my dear love, or poor Thos. Lyford, by whom I have already writ to thee. We are all pretty well, thro' mercy the Lord has left among us. Farewell, dear friend, with all thine and honest friends, says thy faithful friend and brother in the truth, Wm. Penn.

Isaac Norris to James Logan.

London, *6th 1st-mo.*, 1707–8.

My Friend James Logan: . . . . . Our Proprietor and Governour is still in the fleet, good lodgings, has meetings there, is often visited, and lives comfortably enough for the circumstance. Their daughter Hannah is dead at Bristol.

Last Sixth-day — I mean yesterday a week — I was at a hearing before Lord Chancellor. It is like, you know, the Fords have petitioned the Queen to be put in possession of the country, and that he might be divested of the government, for that they could not expect impartiality from his officers, and produced the proclamation made by King Charles, at the time

[1] On the outside, indorsed in Jas. Logan's hand, "Henry Kane by Thomas Lyford." — L.

of the grant, that the people should yield obedience to William Penn as an example, that the like might be to Governour Philip or to Governess Bridget now.[1] Sir Simon Harcourt, and Sir Edward Northey pleaded. The first said all the case would bear, but the latter overthrew the whole project and observed: First, the Fords had no words assigning the Government, and if they had, it was possibly still questionable. 2dly, that the property was not alienated, for the matter in debate was not yet ended in that court, therefore, they had abused her Majesty to tell her they recovered their right in her courts; and if it were so, yet equity of redemption remained; and positively, with all deference declared, the Queen could not grant them possession, for the law must determine property between subject and subject; that they must begin in the courts of Pennsylvania; with much more. The Lord Chancellor agreed to what he said, allowing it to be reasonable, declared positively that the equity of redemption still remained in William Penn and his heirs, tho' they should at last recover; told the Fords they were too early to ask such a thing of the Queen, if it would ever be proper; and as to taking the Government, *that* could not be, for it would not be decent — to use his own words — to *make Government ambulatory;* stated, "suppose the Queen should, as they desired, proclaim the Government, then perhaps, a year, or year and a half, or two years hence, Mr. Penn might, by himself or friends, pay the whole money demanded, if recovered, or might, in the mean time, have his plea of abatement to the accounts granted, which he would not say was impossible, tho' there was a possibility against it, or might otherwise compound it, and then the Queen must be petitioned to proclaim back again." He spoke more fully and handsomely than I can repeat, and, in a word, their petition was laid aside, and the Queen will be advised not to answer it. Pray communicate to my relations and friends.

I have bought thee "Hay's Fluxions," a folio; 18*s.* I gave. 'Tis cheap, so shall bring it. I have seen thy brother twice. I sent for him, and sat an hour or two by ourselves. He seems modest and ingenious, as well as capable of improvement, has a smattering at things, but does not yet appear fully dressed for

[1] [Alluding to Philip and Bridget Ford. — EDITOR.]

the world . . . . . I perceive he depends on thee, and waits for thy further directions . . . . . .

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, *12th 1st-mo.*, 1707–8.

HONOURED GOVERNOUR: — An opportunity offering, by way of Jamaica, I am willing to make use of it, to inform thee briefly, that I have treated with the Lieutenant-Governour about his accounts, which he professed himself very ready to make up; but upon my telling him my opinion that it was expected he should account for all he has received above £300, this money, per annum, till the time the Assembly granted a supply, and £400 per annum from that time, I am apprehensive I shall not meet with such a compliance as I think is reasonable. He has received many sums that I have not at all been made acquainted with but by accident; or, by the by, particularly of £80 of Griffith Jones, for a pardon to his son, when I was in Virginia, and has received several fines without my knowledge, besides other perquisites, and seems to doubt whether he ought to account for the fines in the Lower Counties, because by an Act of Assembly there they are given to the Governour for the time being, so that I much fear we shall hardly agree upon the matter. There is another business also, that will lay me under some considerable inconveniency. It is, that T. Grey having been in my office all the time the Governour received those high fees, for licenses, together with ten shillings for every vessel register and letter pass, fees that were appointed by order of Council till such time as the country would grant a supply, done at my instance, to lessen thy charge; Thomas Grey, by the Governour's order, received all those perquisites, and kept, by my order, exact accounts of them, which accounts I took from him as he had taken them first; but afterwards, because they were not regular, but intermixed with other things, I delivered to him again at his own request, upon his promise to draw them out fairly by themselves, and return them to me. But this he neglected to do immediately, but leaving the town whilst I was in Virginia, and not

meeting him, as I expected, in Maryland, I lost all opportunity of calling upon him. I, therefore, request thee to send for him, and procure those accounts, which will be necessary to be transmitted hither, taking several duplicates, all signed by him. This, I hope, he will not be backward to furnish thee with, having, as his friend and fellow-traveller to Maryland, P. Bard, informed me, carried a great many papers, and, I suppose, those among the rest, with him. I wrote earnestly to him about this by the Massachusetts fleet, and that the more effectual care may be taken of him, I request thee to call on him and procure them, if possible. I have carefully inquired here to know whether he had left any papers, but cannot hear of any. The Governour thinks it hard, I believe, to account for such perquisites, but I am willing to discharge my duty, in what is expected from me, tho' I really much doubt I shall be able to make up with him here, and I much wish there may be nothing that may force me to break with him while in commission. He has long lookt on me as no great friend of his, tho' I am sure he has no other reason than what he may apprehend from the discharge of my trust. The Assembly are openly against me in particular, as well as thee and him, and if they can find occasion to turn him also against me, whilst in commission, 'tis impossible I should stand.

I have this month proceeded as vigorously as I could to get in thy quit-rents, in pursuance of the law for that purpose, in which I hoped, from spreading reports in thy favour, upon the receipt of thy letters per Capt. Hamilton, I should not be unsuccessful, but the contrary has happened, for I can scarce receive anything. Copies of all the proceedings in Chancery, &c., being carefully sent over, are exposed by David Lloyd, so that till the matter be determined nobody thinks himself secure. This naturally leads me to mention the very heavy apprehensions I am under concerning that affair, lest the unhappy circumstances of England, or that other name Britain, should have found so much other employment for the Parliament this last winter, that the business might scarce find sufficient room, and the time appointed by the Chancellor's decree will as certainly draw on as the motion of the orbs that bring it is certain; and, I think, there is but too much reason to expect no manner of mercy from those bitter adversaries when they have the power. And further, I

cannot remove a jealousy I have, that those who should advance the money for thee will be discouraged by the unhappy blows[1] of this last year, which will deeply affect this place. They will believe that they may be very backward in parting with so much in hand, unless greater and more assiduous application and endeavours be used than have hitherto been customary in the management of thy affairs. And then if once the decree take place, the money not be advanced, but the Fords come into possession, I suppose I need not mention to thee the dismal consequences and everlasting reproach that must ensue upon the sales that have been made, and thy whole affairs. I hope my zeal and freedom will be taken as designed for thy service, now being the time, if ever, to press, for I cannot but think that thy concerns are now brought to the most critical juncture, which, if not managed with success, may prove irretrievable.

The Governour has still a very good opinion of the mines. We have several out upon them, of whom we expect some to come in shortly.

That unhappy gentlewoman, M. Phillips, as she is called, must return home, I believe, her mother, R. Rooth's lady, being dead, for she cannot be content to live here, nor am I willing to supply her, unless her bills be better paid; but I must while she stays, or she must starve.

I fear the ship *Diligence* is not yet sailed from Virginia. We have not been able, that I can find, to convey one letter thither all this winter, because of the rigour of the season. The bearer of one pacquet was froze to death, and an express sent in the 11th-month, by land, we fear, has also lost his life, not being arrived there a month after. I have wrote divers letters by the Massachusetts fleet, and must conclude this.

Thy most obd't serv't, J. L.

Per Capt. Sleigh, via Jamaica. Duplicate sent with the following.[2]

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[1] The commerce of this country suffered severely in this year from the war then raging in Europe. According to a letter of Samuel Preston, thirty vessels, under convoy of two men-of-war, bound for this continent, fell in with a French squadron, and were all captured. — L.

[2] [That is, with a subsequent letter dated 18th 4th-mo., 1708. — Editor.]

1708.

Isaac Norris to Joseph Pike.

London, 25*th* 1*st-mo.*, 1708.

. . . . . Nothing is new in Governour Penn's affair, but that John Fræme tells me he understands Philip Ford has inclinations to an accommodation; but John thinks he has withstood his time, and the money once offered cannot now be raised — the late run upon the bank, and amusement about the Pretender, has made money so scarce, and every one hugs it . . . . . William Penn intends, if cast in Chancery, to remove to the House of Lords; but it cannot be this sessions, for 'tis not issued in Chancery yet. I believe the Duchess of Marlborough has not only pitied, but taken some pains in his affairs, as T. Cuppage can tell thee somewhat; but little comes of it. This hurley-burley, and turning out Harleigh, will be of no advantage . . . .

Thy cordial friend, I. N.

Shortly after the date of this letter, Isaac Norris re-embarked for Pennsylvania, where, after a tedious passage of ten weeks, he safely arrived with his family in August, 1708, and was welcomed with extraordinary affection by his friends and fellow-citizens. — L.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, 3*d* 3*d-mo.*, 1708.

Loving Friend: — I have had none from thee since the last 6th-mo., which gives me great uneasiness, since the virulent treatment of David Lloyd, &c., can much sooner find its way to Philip Ford, and by him to G. W., W. M., and T. L., who have been with me at my lodgings in Old Bailey, to represent the state of the Province, and render it very lamentable under the present Lieutenant-Governour; and unless I will discharge him, and put in a man of virtue, years, and known experience, and of a moderate spirit, they cannot avoid laying the Assembly's complaint before the

Queen and Council, in which they have enumerated all the faults, if not vices, they can lay to his conduct. The alarm, the refusal of the law for Courts, the New Castle law to pay toll going to and coming from Philadelphia, and the violent struggle upon it; his getting young Susan Harwood with child, and conniving at the escape the old one made from justice, and accompanying them into another Province for avoiding shame and punishment; to which they add a lewd voyage to Sasquehanagh, with the vilest character, of his and his retinue's practices with the wives and daughters of the people of Conostogo. My soul mourns under these things for the very fame of them, but much more if true. I doubt not his regard for my interest in the main; but this disjoints all, and cuts me down at once, so that I have been forced to think, much against my desire, of looking out another to put in his place; and at last I have found one, of whose morals, experience, and fidelity I have some knowledge, and of his family 40 years, and has a recommending character from persons of great rank; and he assures me he intends to centre with us, and end his days in that country, being 46 years of age and single, and sold his estate in Europe to lay out his money there, and be a good freeholder among you. Highly recommended by Lieutenant-General Earle, and Major-General Cadogan, and the Ingoldsby family, as well as by Major Morris, my steward, and some friends in Ireland; and if he goes, it will be as one resolved to retire and absolutely disposed to recommend himself to you by sobriety and thriftiness, rather than luxury or rapaciousness, which I thought fit to communicate, and pray break it to him (Governour Evans); and the reason why I choose to change, rather than contest with the complainants before the Queen in Council, is, that he may stand the fairer for an employment elsewhere, which would be very doubtful if those blemishes were aggravated in such a presence. So much for that. The bearer will give thee a long and full epistle himself, to which I must refer thyself for thy ampler instruction and knowledge. The Fords seem to embrace an accommodation, and several Friends and others not of our profession interpose to mediate it. £7,000 looks to be the sum. To be sure, £8,000 will do it effectually; and tho' I don't like my

friends' method, yet it will do, I hope, at last, in which my poor recovering Father Callowhill comes in for £1,000 for his share; so that I hope to regain my property and pay them by way of the Government, or what arises there. [The] Lord Treasurer I hope will lend me £7,000, and receive it at New York, for the service of the Government, or for us, and give me 7 years to pay it in; and I find Secretary Lownes inclinable to encourage it as a practicable thing, and then I may still keep the Government, or at least for a time.

To the Friends before mentioned I read thy defence thou sent me upon the margin of the impeachment. It stopped their mouths, and Isaac Norris adding his own knowledge, to fortify some parts of it, which raised a character for thee, instead of confirming the ill one they had conceived of thee. Some fear lest Colonel Quarry had a design in taking my house, to recommend himself to the Fords by giving them possession, which they are confident enough to pretend to go over to get upon hopes of peoples readily atturning tenants upon their mortgage, especially if the Queen had granted them her letters to them to that purpose, as they had the presumption to ask her; but they were denied, and their silly and saucy petition dismissed; since which the Company here have prevailed on the Master of the Rolls to oblige them to produce the Company's books, which they had concealed so closely that their own trustees, Hall and Moss, have never seen or lookt into them, and 'tis thought this affair will considerably assist my case; at least to render a fair issue. I shall enclose the order of reference from the Queen and Council to the Lord Chancellor, and his report; as also D. Lloyd's letter to P. Ford, against me and my honest interest. I also herewith enclose my original letter of advice, upon several bills drawn upon thee, at 6 months' sight, in country produce, at a considerable value.

I hope mine, by Captain Hamilton, is safely arrived to thy hands, as also mine to the Lieutenant-Governour, which contained some account of complaints, and which must give him aim of what must follow.

I am glad T. Fairman has found out another tract of about 120,000 acres of good land, and fit for settlements, but more, that

mines so rich are so certainly found, for that will clear the country and me of all other incumbrances, and enable me to reward those that have approved themselves faithful to me and my just interest. Clap somebody upon them, as servants for me, and by next opportunity send me some of the ore, to get it tried by some of the ablest separators here.

I send thee a copy of a letter, upon my application to get over such a person that is ingenious and prudent, and who is chief operator for the copper and lead company, mostly among our friends; and I send thee also M. Lofty and J. Tucker each a token of the silver extracted out of the Welsh mines, about £3,000 the other day being coined in the town, and the mark of the union on it all, and this is the first money milled or stamped since it was made. And pray, if you are assured of the goodness of your ore, send us some barrels of it, which may be better, and perhaps more expeditiously separated here than there, and which would be a good, and a much cheaper as well as better cargo than any other you can raise. This is what Dr. Wright advises me, who is the principal of those that follow and direct the so profitable silver and lead mines before mentioned. The black sand-mine that came with Isaac Norris, in a leather bag, proves no better than iron, as a notable melter tells me, John Haddon, whose daughter is married to old Anthony Sharp's son, in Jersey. I had two letters, from different hands, as sending me trials, but Isaac gave me no other, and so tell them when thou seest them. Encourage searches and dispatch samples of the various ores by the first opportunity. What is that Mitchel[1] that thou fearest is insincere?

I send thee a brown piece of the Welsh silver, with the union stampt. I enclose the report containing the petition in it. Cousin Springet being down the river could not have it, but hope to write again before the fleet goes out of the Channel. Yet Moses Anstoll going, send this not finished by one-third, with a copy of the report, where sticks at present, an accommodation being in hand and the money raised, or at least subscribed, by able hands, to pay the agreement. We are all pretty well, thro'

[1] A Swiss acquainted with mining. — L.

mercy. John Carpenter[1] has divers tokens from Johnne and his mother.[2]

William Penn to James Logan.

London, 18*th* 3*d-mo.*, 1708.

Loving Friend, James Logan. — My last promised this. Know then that I enclose the copy that I promised of David Lloyd's letter to Philip Ford, by which thou wilt be furnished with an infallible proof of the conspiracy against me; and whether such a traitorous person ought not to be expelled a country, as well as be made incapable of any trust and employ, as he was declared by the Lords Justices of England, and by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. If the Proprietary and Governour of any country can look well upon or even oblige such a people as doth, in defiance of the Crown here, and me and my interest and authority there and here, such respect to a delinquent and a vile ingrate, one that won't do right, and obstinately maintains the wrong theory. Witness his folly that provoked the Government, and his perverseness before twelve Friends one evening at my house, which would not suffer him to bow, so far as to acknowledge it a fruit of passion, or anger, to Colonel Quarry, &c., rather than disrespect, or undutifulness to the late King, and therefore to ask his pardon, and I do my best to make such a submission.

I say again, what Proprietor and Governour would care one jot what becomes of such foolish, if not wicked, people. The Lord turn them and forgive them their deceivableness, and, I hope, blind disaffection and defection from their poor friend and Governour, that has made them and their prosperity hundreds of times; yea, ever since they were a people, my care and expense of time, money and interest well known to the Lord; and as my many pacquets, both since I returned from thence, bear witness

[1] Son of Samuel Carpenter. He served an apprenticeship with Isaac Norris, and went to England with him. He returned and settled in Philadelphia. His only daughter married Reese Meredith. — L.

[2] [The rest of the original is wanting, and we presume from the writer's statement, that the foregoing was all that was sent. — Editor.]

thereunto; and as they use me, who have been of the using and getting side, and I and mine on the sinking and losing, God, that brought me thither, and that place to me which has made the most of them what they are, will use them and theirs. And so soon as my bonds are broke,[1] and I have visited Friends in a general meeting way in each county, which fifty days will do, the Lord willing, I go to Bristol, and thence for Ireland, whence I determine for you, if it please God, and I hope next Spring, if not next Fall, to set forth; for I am bent to comfort and confirm the good, satisfy and please the moderate, and convince the unreasonable, or expose them as enemies of the common peace and public good.

I send thee a copy of my letter to S. C., T. S., Gr. O., C. P., R. H., and R. Ellis, to be communicated as in wisdom they may see good for quietness sake, which with one, I think, to the Governour, I satisfied G. W., W. M., not the least pleased with it, and T. L., who were contented to only take notice of David Lloyd's work as from Friends, and not a Speaker of an Assembly; and they were pleased with thy defence, as in my last [I mentioned] about a week since, Isaac Norris reading both and commenting usefully on the same; J. H., Hen. T., and Sil. Grove, &c., were present, as I remember. I also send thee my exceptions to the Fords' accounts and demands, after the best method, which promote as may be needful. I further send thee a duplicate of a former letter, advising of bills of exchange drawn on thee, and accepted for debts owing here, and six months given, and payable in the country's produce; which ends this letter, hoping for a further occasion, the wind being, for the present, out of the way, and I hear Isaac Norris is still out of Portsmouth. Friends of Bristol have subscribed £2,000, of which my father Callowhill £1,000—[he is] finely recovered. Here they have writ £3,000, and £2,000 from Ireland, of which I pay on making in all the compromise, as we hope and take for granted. And if honest Friends there will help to discharge some of this debt, and to receive it along leisurely there, I shall take it kindly. But such as shall help me at my cost, for their own unreasonable advantage, I shall ever look upon them with a

[1] Imprisonment in the fleet. — L.

mean regard. I am to have seven years to pay it in, and at six per cent. Carry it kind to Captain Finney, to whom I intend a favour, all I can, as soon as possible. Give my love to all friends, with my wife's, especially the right-minded, and remember me to all in and out of authority that deserve it, and that of all nations and persuasions. Thou must needs excuse my poor wife to Hannah Hill for not writing to her, so weary of her journey, and so much to do upon her arrival from Bristol, but intends it, if she can, per this opportunity. John Fothergill and William Armstead now in town, from whom I have had the best accounts of persons and things. No news of the *Union* yet, which looks cloudy. It can't come in a better time, for my cousin Rooth owes me £16 of the first and all of the last bill. What comes of the Jamaica business? I fear it will be a loss.[1] I have to the full, kindly treated Parson Evans, who has succeeded mightily in his business, and his enemies well feel it. New York will be happy in their new Governour, Lord Lovelace, the reverse of the other of that name, being a sober, good-tempered man, and honourable. He came with Secretary T. Blaithwaite to see me first. Let them use him well, and Friends be sure to be of the first that congratulate his arrival, and recommend themselves by a just regard to his good qualities. So with all our true love, I conclude at present.

Thy assured friend, WM. PENN.

P. S. — I am teased with Churchill about his books, making me his debtor. Would have stop'd the sum in Esquire Butler's hands, for stock he bought of mine, when he purchased Worminghurst. He is a Parliament man. I gave him £4,500 for it, and sold it for £6,050, after I had cut down £2,000 of timber.

Direct to William Popple, Secretary to the Lords of Trade, at

[1] Fishing for wrecks. Lord Fairfax, Wm. Penn, Jr., R. Rooth, Robt. West, and W. Russell, obtained a patent for this purpose and established a company. They sent out a vessel, commanded by Capt. Smyth, and had at first hope of success from a sloop getting some dollars and a bar of silver out of a wreck; but it ended finally in disappointment. — L.

Whitehall, or J. Addison, Esq., at Lord Sunderland's office there, and the inclosed for me.

Jas. Sanders is in Bedlam.

[Indorsed — "My letter to James Logan."]

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, 18*th* 4*th-mo.*, 1708.

Honoured Governour: — The foregoing[1] is a copy of my last, besides which I sent several by the Massachusetts fleet last second-month. J. H. Sprœgle arriving here gave us the melancholy account of thy confinement, and that thou hadst lost the opportunity of having thy cause heard before the Lords this session; that the Fords thereupon were petitioning the Queen for possession, and that Philip designed to come over this summer to look after their new estate; all of which, together, came like a thunder-bolt upon us. But since that, by Lyford, we have the more comfortable account that their petition is rejected, and that thy being in the fleet was not like to prove to thy disadvantage, together with the first account I received in a letter from H. Goldney and five other Friends, advising of the draft of several bills on me. I answered it largely to themselves, and send another copy by this opportunity, in which I have been obliged to use such a plainness as the state of thy affairs seems to me, and the best of thy friends here, necessarily to require, to which I refer, for I have now none to copy for me, but write all with my own hand. I hope the subject will be fully considered, and that all requisite care will be taken by Friends. The outcry of all honest men, the errors of their (the Fords') accounts being certified under such great hands, together with the respect that is shewn thee by the best, tho' under trouble, with the disappointment they have met with in their petition, will, we hope, have some effect on those vile wretches, and bring them to more moderate terms; or if not, if the cause can be kept depending till the

[1] [The letter under date of 12th 4th-mo., 1707–8, is here referred to. Editor.]

next session of Parliament, effectual relief may be had there; or, lastly, that the money will be advanced on a new security of the country, whatever the sum be.

I hope I need not repeat what I have wrote to those Friends, concerning the necessity of giving some good assurances to the people here that they may pay with safety, without danger of being called again by the Fords, or any under them; for without this, I shall never be able to answer those bills[1]. . . . . .

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *4th-mo.*, 1708.[2]

[After desiring better advice and more regularity in the bills which he was to answer, in consequence of the money advanced by the Proprietor's friends to redeem the Province from the Fords, and that the new settlers in New Castle County, who owed about £2,000, should be secured against the Marylanders, if they would get in their money, the writer proceeds as below. — L.]

. . . . . We have for several months past succeeded here pretty well in our navigation, but now these coasts begin to be intolerably infested. This very week, in four days' time, we had three vessels of this river sunk and burnt, one of which was the unfortunate J. H. Sprœgle's brigantine, bound outwards to Virginia, just off our own Capes, and the men turned on shore. Port Royal, to the east of New England, is now become a nest of privateers, where also have arrived lately three French men-of-war, one of 50, a second of 45, and the third of 26 guns, with orders from their king to cruise upon all these coasts this Summer. Their booty is appropriated to the support of a new Colony, now settling from France, to the eastward of Port Royal, towards which the men-of-war I have mentioned brought over with them 100 French families. So that the navigation here, which formerly was so safe, has already become as dangerous as the West Indies, and in all probability will be no

[1] [The rest of this letter is wanting. — Editor.]

[2] The original of the first of this letter is wanting. — L.

better than the English Channel itself. Captain Young, who came out with the Virginia fleet, bound for the river, in a ship of 12 guns, has not yet arrived nor heard of, and therefore 'tis much feared has miscarried. In short, I would advise no man there to send any vessel or goods directly hither, as long as matters stand as they now are, but to take freight for Maryland, under a good Virginia convoy. We have now four English men-of-war upon these coasts, but they very exactly observe the late practice of the navy: that is, carefully to keep out of the enemie's way. They often see the privateers, but always something happens that they cannot fight them; tho', when the privateers spy a prize, they rarely fail of giving such an account of it as they desire. This place, under such dangers, lying so naked and exposed, gives occasion for great murmurs, and Friends themselves, finding their principles utterly unqualify them for the discharge of some duties of government, and which that of land now reckons indispensably necessary, are quite tired of it, and wish themselves free of the load which follows it. To-day, the news of that insulting privateer at our very Capes being brought last night to town, with an account of the mischief he had done, the Governour, who came in great haste upon it, proposed to the merchants to fit out a vessel to engage him. A very brave captain immediately offered, and a sufficient number of sailors, the town now being very full, agreed to go; but when it came to, there could be no way found to give security for a vessel, arms, provision and ammunition; Friends, the greater number [of merchants], refusing to be concerned, and others thinking it too hard for them alone; especially since, under an Assembly so qualified, 'tis impossible to have any publick fund for such uses to be reimbursed. So that the matter fell; how much to the honour of Government, others will judge. I wish thou wouldst be pleased to consider it, and act as the case requires, for matters cannot stand long thus. I am, with due respects, Thy most faithful, &c.

James Logan.

Postscript.

24th 4th-mo., 1708.

I designed to have finished with the foregoing sheet, but the vessel staying longer than expected, by reason of those rogues that bar up our Capes, and new matter occurring, I must give thee the further trouble to tell thee.

That two days ago I received certain information, of what I had heard only whispered exceeding privately, many weeks since, but could not believe, viz., that the Governour has actually made offers of courtship to John Moore's beautiful daughter, and has treated with her father and friends about it, which I take to be a matter of that importance to thy affairs, that I believe it well deserves thy thoughts and circumspection. Whether he has any politick views in it, or it arise only from a passion which such breasts as his are rarely found strangers to, 'tis hard to judge; but if the latter alone, scarce any that know the young woman will dare to be severe on him in their censures, for by all that do, she is acknowledged to have a great stock of native worth, not only in a person excellently fine, but in all the other qualifications that can render one in her circumstances desirable. This alone is enough to plead; but 'tis not impossible but there may be somewhat further in prospect, such as a hope by this means to strengthen himself here, which were it for thy interest to keep the Government still in thy hands, when extricated from thy other troubles, might work considerably for thy advantage. But if a design should be set on foot to bring about a change, whether thou think well of it or not, for which the present war furnishes pretexts not easily to be combatted, I refer it to thyself to consider what consequences are possible. I know he seems to have no thoughts of returning to Europe, but is improving and making plantations here, and has offered it as one inducement to them, that he has hopes by the interest of that nobleman,[1] whom he complimented with the bond of £500 to his father, as well as by thine, to succeed, under the Queen, upon a change. But I hope his own letters to thee, with which I am not acquainted, give thee so much satisfaction

[1] Lord Cornbury. — L.

in these points, that there will be no occasion for my remoter conjectures, and so shall leave it, having given my sentiments in all things relating to him so fully already in my former letters.

This day William Trent has buried his beloved wife, — dead in childbed, — a loss which he can scarcely bear, and will, 'tis believed, prove the means of this country losing a very useful man in it.

Peter Barzalion, who has long traded here, and behaved himself well, last year had some India goods seized by the collector, because imported by a foreigner. Thy third came to something above £30. At his earnest request I took his bond for it, everybody exclaiming against the severity, for tho' a Frenchman, he had been very faithful, and believing that upon his application, and thy knowledge of the matter, thou wouldst not touch with it. For these nine months past he has been out with Mitchel, in quest of the mines, and in the meantime unhappily had another parcel of a greater value seized, which are also condemned without mercy, for John Moore was angry with him, and sold by the admiralty. I know not what to do in such a point, but must crave thy direction. He is desirous, if he stays here, to procure a denization from England, in which it would be kind to be helpful to him, for he is useful, and accounted very honest by those who trade with him. But I fear he will leave us, and if provoked, is capable of doing much hurt. Pray be pleased to write about it. Mitchel, the Swiss, who has been chiefly employed in search of the mines, is not, I doubt, to be depended on by us.

All foreigners, the Germans and Dutch especially, are exceeding uneasy here for want of better assurances to their lands, being told that they must all escheat, and that they have no right to them, which is of very ill consequence.

Pray be pleased to remember that the Act for a supply expires this winter, and there is no hopes of more from the Assembly, as matters stand. Captain Young is now given up for lost, there being no tidings of him.

There is a business depending here, of which, because 'tis probable thou may hear of it there, I must give thee some information.

William Clark, while collector under E. Randall, received by himself and deputies at New Castle, 700 and odd pounds, of this money, for duties of tobacco, of which by contract he was to have one moiety instead of a salary, and of the other he never paid one farthing by any means whatever; but charging £7 per year for boat-hire, for above five years; £8 per annum for his house-rent, for keeping the King's office in it; £10 for every journey to Philadelphia; £5 for paper, pens, and ink, and a larger sum lost in Lillington, his deputies' hands, he reduces by these extravagant articles the moiety due to the Crown to about £80, and at length, instead of paying that, very weakly petitions the Commissioners of the Customs, (as if it lay in their breast to dispose of any part of the treasury,) by Colonel Quarry, to remit this small balance also, in consideration that his house had been plundered by a pirate. Thus instead of relief, which he had no reason to expect, Colonel Quarry had orders to recover what was due by law, and accordingly he sues the unhappy widow, and threw her upon an arrest into jail, and brought his action in the Queen's name, declaring for the whole sum received by him. Upon this her lawyer put in a plea, beginning with these usual words of form when the charge is denied, viz., "Whereupon the said H. Clark comes, &c., &c., &c., defends the force and injury," &c. To this the Queen's counsel demur, and insist on it that the plea is vicious, those words being improper against the Queen, and therefore crave judgment on their declaration, pressing it very strenuously. The unhappy widow's counsel would retract that plea if these words, tho' used in all other persons' cases, must not be in this, desiring earnestly to bring the matter to a fair trial, that the accounts may be scanned, when what is really due to the Crown upon them may be paid; but they, on the other side, being for the Queen, are high upon it. Nothing but a judgment will serve them, without further trial, for which they plead they are under a necessity, because in a Government where there are so many Quakers no jury is to be trusted in a case where the Queen is concerned. This is the very argument that has been used, tho' I am sure groundless, and abusive in the highest degree; and if their demurrer is overruled, they resolve to appeal to England, for it shall never

come to a jury;—tho' I verily believe, had she herself the picking of a jury here, of those called Quakers there, she could scarce make up one that would allow such unreasonable accounts, and much less if indifferent men were chosen. Her counsel is only T. Clark, who is now also supplying the place of our Attorney-General, upon Geo. Lowther's decease, about two months ago, and is by that means disabled of serving her. Colonel Quarry has feed all the other lawyers of the place, and even Judge Mompesson himself from York, so that the Justices, who, like other magistrates in these Colonies, are known to be no lawyers, are perfectly at a loss. On the one hand, they are very unwilling to do anything that can be by any means interpreted a failure in their duty to the Queen, for whom, I believe it is no violence to truth to say, they have as great a regard as the Justices in Westminster Hall, tho' much less skill. On the other hand, they would not wrong their consciences, and violate their oaths and attestations, in doing anything that would be a wrongful oppression to a widow in such unhappy circumstances as that poor creature is engaged in, and only for the sake of an error in the formal words of the plea, so that upon the whole they have deferred the matter for several months past, for want of good advice from some able impartial men, which they might easily have had, if Colonel Quarry had not secured Judge Mompesson beforehand. Of this delay Colonel Quarry designs to complain, which, if he does, I wish it may not arise from a greater unkindness than he professes, for I doubt it may be thought to carry a further design in it than barely a discharge of his duty, which, after his repeated professions of friendship to thee and thy interest, I would not willingly give myself leave to believe. This, however, is a true state of the case, and such a one, that I am of opinion Colonel Quarry himself would not contradict one syllable of it.

I am generally uneasy after reading over my own letters, lest I should be blamed for too free a style, which causes me so often to request an excuse for it; but I always find it so very necessary, that, especially knowing my own heart, I can scarce temper, and would fain wish it may not be thought too much; but I am sure the subject of my letter to the six Friends, and the first sheet of this to thyself, indispensably requires [plainness].

The ship *Diligence* sailed from Virginia the 5th of the 2d-month north about, in company with honest old William Cant, in the *London Merchant*, and two others, and must be, I suppose, in some British port, if not French, before this.

I am, with all due regards, &c., &c., J. L.

In 1708, the supineness of the commanders of the ships of war on the American and West Indian stations was much complained of. Shortly after, the courage of Admiral Benbow, and the example made of two of his delinquent captains, Wade and Hervey, who were shot for cowardice, seem to have proved an effectual remedy to the abuses here mentioned.

It is well known that the Secretary's principles admitted of self-defence. He wrote in favor of it. — L.

James Logan to Lord Cornbury.

Philadelphia, *July the 3d*, 1708.

May it please Your Excellency: — Some of us, very lately, upon the disasters that have befallen our shipping by a cruising enemy on our coasts, adventured to address your Excellency for the assistance of one of her Majesty's ships, under your direction, to convoy out to sea divers of our vessels now ready to sail. Our continued misfortunes lay us under a duty, not only upon our own accounts, but that of the rest of her Majesty's trading subjects in your adjoining and the other adjacent Governments, to inform your Excellency, that last night arrived here from Egg Harbour, by land, three masters of vessels who have been lately taken on the same coasts by another privateer named *Castrau*. The first is one Phillips, of Boston, taken on his way homeward from N. Carolina; the second is Moody, of this river, who sailed from hence to Madeira about a month ago; and the third, who carries by much the severest loss to this place, is Captain Young, in a ship from London, the only vessel bound hither in the Virginia fleet. He was taken on Sunday last, in sight of land; and with the other two masters, and about fourteen miles from shore, was sent on shore in his own boat on Tuesday. But

the gentleman who comes the bearer of this being one of his passengers, and of himself very desirous to undertake the service, we thought it convenient to encourage him in it, so that he may more particularly inform your Excellency of what may be known of the enemy.

To whose information we beg to add that Moody, who was fourteen days on board the privateer, tells us that her constant course was between Egg Harbour and Tinnepuxent, about seven or eight leagues to the southward of Cape Henlopen; that sometimes he lay directly between the Capes, but generally kept off at some distance from the shore, often steering to the southeast, while *Crapant*, who did the former, generally lay close under it. He adds, that this same privateer, as he understood on board, was off Sandy Hook when Jones' ship from Barbadoes was taken; but that another, from St. Domingo, one of their consorts, having the start of him, preventing her gaining that prize.

That, besides the last-mentioned from St. Domingo, there are five privateers from Martinico on these coasts, all which, though uncertain in itself, because depending on the information of their people only, we thought fit notwithstanding to hint to your Excellency as related to us, that your Excellency and the Captains of her Majesty's ships may have all the intelligence of their motions and stations that can be obtained. We humbly beg your Excellency to excuse the freedom that, in the absence of our Lieutenant-Governour Colonel Evans, we thought ourselves obliged to take.

Believing ourselves obliged to omit no opportunity, as well of contributing what lies in our power to the public service, as of demonstrating ourselves, may it please your Excellency, &c.,

J. L., W. T., &c.

Samuel Carpenter to Jonathan Dickinson.

[*Extract.*] Philad'a, 20*th* 5*th-mo.*, 1708.

I have thy kind letter, by Israel Pemberton, of 16th 1st-mo. last, and am glad thou did not come this Summer, for *Crapant*, from Martinico, and several other privateers, have been on our coast,

and at our Capes, and have taken several vessels, so that it is hard for any to escape them. Young, from London, who came in the Virginia fleet bound here, was taken off our Capes, which is a great loss to the town. Bayley was just on shore, a little without Cape Henlopen. They attempted to burn her, but were kept off, and he unloaded his goods, and got off his vessel and brought her into Lewes Creek. The goods were carried over land about eight miles, and he came up by land, but has gone down again to bring up his vessel and goods. Doubtless, if he yet escape the enemy, it will be with a great deal of damage and charge. The safest time to come to be clear of privateers, in my opinion, is late in the year, after they are gone, or early to be here in the First month (March), or sooner, before they come on, for we may reasonably expect them in the Summer, during the war. Our vessels have kept in, for fear of the enemy, and are now hastening down to meet the *York* man-of-war at the Capes, to convoy them, being sixteen in number, out to sea.

Friends generally well, except Samuel Jennings, who has been long weak and not like to recover. His wife died last 2d-mo., and Benj. Walker in the Winter. Isaac Norris not arrived. We expect he may be near and in danger, tho' there is a report that the ship he should come in has arrived in Virginia. But 'tis uncertain.

William Penn to James Logan.

21st 5th-mo., 1708.

Loving Friend: — With my love. This draws on thee for twenty-six pounds, as per bill appears. Let him, if he wants to, be supplied with the odd money, six pounds, before 'tis due. He has served me four years, and goes for his improvement and settlement there. As he behaves, countenance him for his good. He comes of honest Friends. If he be wanted at Pennsbury, employ him; he knows all the work he can have there. I have writ by Ephraim Jackson, and honest J. Potts, and to the Governour. Expect more by the new Lieutenant-Governour,

whom inform of the needful. He will have an open ear to thee, by my advice and orders. No more but love.

Thy real friend, WM. PENN.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILA., [*1st 7th-mo.*, 1708.]

HONOURED GOVERNOUR: — Three days ago, Isaac Norris and family arriving safely and well, brought thy letters, to our very great satisfaction. I have communicated to the Lieutenant-Governour what thou hast been pleased to mention of his removal, which proves very disagreeable, not for the loss of the Government, he says, but the manner of it. It has broke his intended match with J. Moore's daughter,[1] which would have been accomplished ere this, had not Captain Finney's arrival, about a month before Isaac, given earlier notice of it. He fully resolved, whether Governour or not, to settle among us, for which purpose he bought a plantation at Swanhook, near New Castle, where he has been making some useful improvements; but now, believing his reputation much injured, among his friends at home, by his being thus laid aside, he thinks himself obliged to appear there to right it, and therefore talks of coming over in the Spring. He has very much altered his conduct for a considerable time past, living as regularly as most men in the place, and I believe now is from real conviction in his judgment firmly principled against immorality in general; so that 'tis really a pity that his private character should suffer for those past mistakes; but certainly the Assembly has treated him most barbarously, that is, as they will all men, where they can, that are in thy interest.

He has received of the country, out of the land tax, £800; from the three years' impost he will have about £500; from the three Lower Counties, near £200; which is between £1,500 and

[1] In the ensuing year, 1709, James Logan writes that he had lost his intended companion for the voyage, which he was about to make to England, for that Colonel Evans was married on the 28th of October, to the fair Rebecca Moore. — L.

£1,600 in all, by Acts of Assembly. He has also had £300 or £400 by perquisites, and this is what has come directly into his own hands. But before he received anything from the country he had £112 of me, on thy account; and all his part of the charge of housekeeping is still to be reckoned for. But how it will be done, I know not, for his way of accounting is, that thou was to pay him £200 sterling per annum, till he received an allowance from the country, and that what he has from thence is his own. So that how he and I shall be able to settle any accounts, is more than I, at present, can judge. 'Tis probable he may stay here long enough to have thy answer to this, which I would earnestly request that, if possible, all things may be concluded fairly; for to arrest him when superseded, and force him by law, would look but oddly, and therefore, if possible, I would avoid it. Besides that, I have scarce sufficient from thee to prove any contract.

If the next succeeding gentleman prove more for thy interest in other respects, which I heartily desire he may, yet there is this inconveniency will attend the change, that thou must, for one year at least, pay him, out of thy own estate here, the stipulated salary; for this next Assembly, being to be chosen in the present Lieutenant's time, will doubtless prove little better than any of the rest, and how they are principled will appear from what has lately passed, and they have published in the coffee-house, and which I shall send thee inclosed. I request thee to let me have directions, so clear and plain, that I may not be at a loss how to proceed in relation to him, so far as I am to be concerned, for the embarrassment I am under with the present gives me no small trouble.

3d 7br.

Thy letter per Isaac Norris, with the particulars he gave himself of the great probability there was, at his departure, of thy accommodating that troublesome affair with the Fords, was matter of great joy to us; but, as if all the accounts of it were to be like the alternate fits of a fever and ague, we have now again, by a letter of the 23d 4th-month, last via Boston, by this post received, the direct reverse of it, viz., that 'tis all entirely knocked

on the head, than which scarce anything could be told us more afflicting. It is a mighty unhappiness . . . . . .

I now begin to dread the arrival of orders from the Fords, to their agents here, to begin the matter in our own Courts; and if so, I shall be fallen upon for what I have received since the country, as they say, has been theirs. I would not anticipate trouble by fear, but as I find there is reason for those apprehensions, I cannot keep clear of some very anxious thoughts upon my own account now, as well as thine; for should it ever come to what I have mentioned, I shall be handled without mercy. The repeal of the law for attests is come over, much to the disturbance of the country, and the more because thou takes no notice of it in thine. Isaac Norris affirms he knew not one syllable of it when he came away, and yet 'tis dated in January.

We hear Captain Cant was taken and ransomed, but that the *Diligence* (or *Union*) was not heard of. The loss of her would be a great blow, and among the rest, more than I can spare to myself. I am obliged at present to conclude. With all due respects,

Thy most faithful and obedient, J. L.

Isaac Norris to Thomas Lloyd.

Philadelphia, *7br 5th*, 1708.[1]

Dear Brother Thomas Lloyd: — This day month we arrived in Virginia, and shall now give thee an account of our passage. Thou knowest we left England with a brave wind. We soon got the length of Lisbon, and then kept the West India convoy till we were west of Madeira, after which we had a brave gale for eight or ten days, so that we had a prospect of a short passage. But we lay long in suffering and in calm weather, within 200 leagues of Bermuda. However, by the great mercy of God, we arrived in Virginia just ten weeks after we left the land. Upon the whole, it was a pleasant passage; wanted nothing that could be got at sea; lived comfortably and kindly

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.]

with our Master, and, setting aside the excessive heat, sometimes had few or no difficulties to cope with. We anchored at Richard Johnes' the 7th, where I left wife, &c., to go up to Samuel Chew's, who came down to invite us, because B. and S. Moore were newly come thither. I went with the ship to Choptank; there got a shallop, and called for my wife; lay ten days windbound in Herring Bay. After some days' fatigue in excessive heat in the bay, in order to seek sloops, without success, during which stay they heard at Philadelphia of our arrival, which I must, in gratitude to our dear friends and neighbours, here say, appears to be welcome in an extraordinary manner, more than we could deserve, so universally; and I believe the more so because of the great hazard which this coast has of late been attended with, and the consideration that I had a family with me. Samuel Carpenter, Caleb Pusey, James Logan, both brothers Hill, and Preston, with some young men, went to Turkey Point, but not meeting with us there, all but the three first came down to Herring Bay, with whom we returned and arrived this day week, and found all our families together and as we left them, with this addition, that a few hours after we came home, sister Moore was delivered of a daughter [Mary], and both are bravely.

Thy loving brother, Is. Norris.

Ann Jennings is dead, and Samuel seems very near it.

Isaac Norris to William Penn.

Philada., *6th 7br*, 1708.

Worthy Friend, Governour Penn: — I, with my wife and family, arrived at this town, well, the 29th of last month. We had ten weeks and a pleasant passage, and gratefully remember the kind hand that has been with us, and our protection in these troublesome times.

We are much engaged for thy extraordinary present, altho' we were so unhappy as to miss the olives, and when we came to open the hampers found all but three or four bottles of the white

and two-thirds of the red flown, or broke the bottles, owing to our neglect: not thinking cider, at that time of the year, would work; but thy kind intention and charge was no loss, and is duly remembered.

The news I brought of the accommodation and what thou wrote to James Logan, gives new life to Friends here; but as great a damp appears upon receiving a letter from brother Lloyd, dated the 23d of the 4th-month, saying all was off.

My time has been so short that I can say little or nothing to the affairs of the country, nor what I ought in other obligations, to thee, because the messenger goes in a hurry, and I have several to write. Thou wilt excuse me, therefore, and accept my hearty love and good wishes, with both and dear loves to thy wife and children.

Thy true friend, &c., Is. Norris.

William Penn to James Logan.

11th 7br., 1708.

Loving Friend:—Concerning the bearer, I have credited thy character, as the parson will tell thee, and for that reason I hope thou wilt use thy endeavours to make it good there, as he has, I truly think, done here. Advise him for my service, and be advised by him. He is deeper than he shews, and I really believe him honest. I only desire his friendship upon general duties and virtues. He has had a great acceptance here; been preferred and brought his enemies' interest or moon to the wane. Take fresh measures, as circumstances require, and the rather because my business is agreed with the Fords, and writings in hand for ratification. I have the assignment from them, and my friends a new mortgage from me. Turn all bonds and debts into money or merchantable goods, and recommend thy zeal to my friends, as thy defence has thy abilities. Only know I keep possession for a year or two of my country, and then to them to pay themselves by sales. If not paid in that time, my debts due to me, they have to do it first by, if they can, and I hope Friends and others will assist to repay them quickly.

I have writ largely by other ways, and recommend thee to the bearer and Colonel Gookin, for information on private and publick matters. And so, with family regards,

Thy assured friend, WM. PENN.

I wonder I hear no more of the mines. The *Union* has arrived, and is disposed of to boot.

Postscript. — Colonel Quarry has broke his word, by vile letters he sent against us since he has made it the great aim of the bearer to live easily with my officers and friends, and I think Dr. Oates was a saint to him. Watch his and John Moore's steps in regard to trade, &c. I send thee a copy of my letter to the Commissioner of the Customs, and they have promised to answer my desire in having open bonds. I know there is a way to trap their illicit trading, which will do their business; and if they are ousted from their places, they shall move thence. You should form a small junto, and meet for that and other publick ends. And be careful that no sales be hereafter made of my estate that may be like the Sasquehanagh purchase, now vacated; tho' I would cherish and reward a generous help. [A Latin sentence.[1]] Desire S. Carpenter not to communicate what I have written to him of Parson Evans to any one. The Parson chooses that the Lieutenant-Governour give thee this. Thou must pay the Governour £160 for £100 he spared me two months ago. Vale.

By Parson Evans.[2]

Extract of a letter from Samuel Preston, dated Philadelphia, 8th 7th-mo., 1708, states: — "This day was interred Judge Guest. He died suddenly." — L.

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[1] [The sentence is not given by Mrs. Logan. — EDITOR.]

[2] The Rev. Evan Evans was sent over by the Bishop of London, in 1700, the first Episcopal minister in Pennsylvania. He had been in England on a visit, where he received the degree of D. D. He returned to Philadelphia in this year, where he continued to officiate until 1718, when he removed to Maryland. — L.

WILLIAM PENN TO JAMES LOGAN.

LONDON, *29th 7th-mo.*, 1708.

LOVING FRIEND: — I have lately writ thee, per Isaac Norris, Thomas Potts, and, as I think, by Ephraim Jackson, as also to Colonel Evans at large, since when I have had a weak vindication from him about the alarum, the New Castle Act, &c. I am truly sorry for his overcloseness to thee and other people, honest and able to have advised him. However, I have desired this Lieutenant-Governour[1] to make his exit as easy to him as possible. I perceive he intends to stay among you, and then it must be discoveries of mines there, or fear of meaner circumstances here, that detains him. He owns to me he has not told thee of it, which I took not so well of him, and fear there has not been the requisite good understanding my affairs required. I impute it a good deal to thy dislike of his extreme craving temper, which in a young man is rare and not so commendable. But for his alarum, New Castle Act, his beating the constable, foul conduct with young Harwood, reflections on his Conostogo journey, and last, if not worst of all, his pardon of the blackest crime, in J——'s demure son, and that for money, and, as they say, for so small a sum as £50, your money, which is laying my reputation, and that of the Government under me, and our character, in my judgment, very low indeed! I have shewn my regard to him, and a fair mark I gave him to direct his steps, and exert his abilities, too, and his removal is made necessary to preserve the whole, as well as vindicate our Constitution and profession, to my great regret. But I shall see about the new discoveries, if he be a man of candour and gratitude or not. I have writ him as plain, so very kind letters, yet to help and befriend what I can, there or here, and expect his assistance.

Now know, this is the gentleman whom I have sent to succeed him, Colonel Gookin. Read his character in mine to S. C., C. P., T. S., G. O., &c. He will entirely depend on thee for measures and circumstances of persons and things, in which I will neither doubt thy sincerity nor ability. He has age, experience,

[1] [Governor Gookin. — EDITOR.]

virtue, moderation, good-humour, a pretty nice mathematician, and intends to begin a subscription for a master of that and mechanicry in the Province. Will not Jacob Taylor [be a fit one?] ingenious Tollet having been his master twenty-five years ago. Tollet is now advanced to Commissioner of the Navy's place, for his excelling abilities in mathematical knowledge by the Ministry. Give him, the Governour, the knowledge of parties that he may direct his addresses, and converse, as well as politicks. E. E. [Evan Evans], who gives thee one from me, can say more. They are in a friendship, but the expression of it must be with prudence. He has presented him [E. E.] for his church, with two as gaudy and costly Common Prayer Books as the Queen has in her chapel, and intends as fine a communion table, both which charms the baby, in the Bishop of London, as well as Parson Evans. But ——— is of a soldier's religion, well descended, and intends to lay his bones, as well as lodge his substance, among you, if well treated. *Make the best and the most of him.* I will give him at the rate of £200 per annum, English sterling, till the Assembly gives him a maintenance, which will be £300 per annum, upon the old calculation, and £250, as money will be next Spring, and no more pretensions of fines for forfeitures, and all other perquisites and royalties, which are to stand to me or my revenue, over which pray superintend with all care, that being all the income I can now call my own till the debt here, that redeems the Province from the Fords, be answered; and pray return it, as it comes in, by the best opportunities and first.

Get the Governour into good lodgings, at a good substantial Friend's, or a Churchman well affected to the Government, or Robert Asheton's, and let them be reasonable, for he is a thrifty and sparing man, and easily satisfied.

I doubt not to send thee an exemplification of our end with the Fords, and it will not abate of thy credit that thy abilities, industry, and integrity, are to come under the knowledge, inspection, and approbation of those ingenious men, that will be their trustees, who help me in this affair; wherefore, rouse up, and be vigorous and executive, I desire thee, and beg Friends' assistance, once for all; that being delivered from this debt I

may come to you a free man, which I purpose to do forthwith. But see that nothing be disposed of at under-rates, for that is a dear help. I hope the traders of all persuasions well affected to our Government, or me in particular, to accept of what securities and moneys worth in thy hands, and make them returnable hither the cheapest way to me; for more haste than good speed may please the hasty to be reimbursed, but make me pay the whole claim of the Fords, by underrating sales of lands, &c., which I refused to pay them. See to it, I desire thee. I know they 'll choose nobody that will not agree with thee. I hope I. Norris will be the man they 'll join with thee, or that is to deal with thee for them. Fords assign to me, and I give Friends a fresh mortgage at two years distance before possession; only they have power to make the best of my debts owing me in the country, and yearly income of quit-rents for their repayment now or never. I have writ by Colonel Gookin to Friends, I hope a moving and effectual letter. They will, I believe, show it to thee, for their real aid without earnings by me, viz., S. Carpenter, T. Story, C. Pusey, Gr. Owen, R. Hill, I. Norris, and R. Ellis, and to communicate as they saw serviceable, especially the general part of it. For the naturalization of strangers I being now at liberty, and the Parliament to sit fear it not; yet send me per first a list of all in the country, for the Speaker's profit contests it, no man endeavouring it more under a personal confinement than I did. But bid them be easy. Do as formerly, and heed not the empoisoned breath of our enemies. They are safe from me and mine by my charter, and I shall get them either naturalized or endenizened by the Queen.

I have told thee I have got the Commissioner of the Customs to relieve the traders in reference to the customs due on tobacco. A copy of my letter to them goes now, and one I sent before, which they answered at their full Board should be so no more.

For the laws, they are delayed by my circumstances, as is the running of the line; but the next ship shall bring you directions, for Lord Baltimore willingly waived it as yet.

Colonel Quarry is the man I told thee, for because the man thou so much recommended to us as an honest man, and writ by ——— had too much conscience to sacrifice wholly to his

net, he has writ as ill as he could against him to the Bishop and Society for propagating Evangelical knowledge; and the worst of the insinuation is, that he too much countenances the deputy and interest of me and my heretical profession, *verbum sap.* Pray act accordingly with great prudence, by advice of that black gentleman, and such others as you can trust, the Deputy-Governour, to be sure, for one, who is naturally silent. I shall not be unactive here, &c.

I have an able and smart man or two to refresh and give fresh motion to their justice there, that will follow by the first ships after these of the present fleet.

Samuel Vause has, with acknowledgment of his fault, written largely to thee by way of the Barbadoes pacquet ship *Diligence*, alias *Union*, and goods and freight is adjusted at the best rates; but the money will not be touched, except £100, in less than three months after disposal. I. Askew was for selling all to Coots, as giving the best price, against S. Vause's opinion, who is a meek man. I. A. undervalues the tobacco for Virginia, and that loss will follow upon it. Forty pounds per annum is all the gentlewoman[1] will be allowed, and the last bill yet due. She is an Irish Knight's wife, and my cousin has nothing in his hand of hers. She must write and press, or thou must desist accommodation. A small token comes now from Lady Bridges per Governour Gookin. I suppose hood and scarf.

Forget not my East and West Jersey interest, not involved in this business [of Fords] to improve it the best thou canst; also, to get Haigue's mortgage . . . . . Pray look after the Swiss Captain's plantation in New Castle County, lately fallen; a good thing, T. Grey says.

Hast thou done nothing yet with William Biddle about Beaumont's 300 acres, upon Rancocas Creek, taken up at first by the

[1] Mary Phillips. But James Logan says that was not her real name. She was an unacknowledged daughter of the Countess of D——l, the wife of William Penn's relation, Richard Rooth. James Logan describes her as amiable and conducting herself with much propriety, tho' unfortunate. He urges the necessity of a larger allowance for her than £40 sterling, from the price of board at R. Asheton's, £36 per annum, which left too little for other expenses, tho' she was saving and discreet. She afterwards went home to England. — L.

West Jersey Commissioner for poor Beaumont? and if W. B. will not secure it to the man, to whom I am assignee, at a dear purchase, let him know I must seize the island before Pennsbury, of which he has only a permit for two lives, as I remember it, and what I would not part with for £1,000, this money, here, so much I value it. Let this be not the meanest thing in thy thoughts, besides that island. Tho' the channel goes between that and Pennsbury, yet it always belonged to the Indians of our side, that lived at Sepassin, now Pennsbury. Move in it as most prudent or advisable.

Give Captain Cock's widow all reasonable satisfaction. Her letter comes back. But I will pay none of Colonel Markham's debts. End with Jacob Simcock, who threatens me to go to Friends about a story, if unanswered by me. I aver that I was to pay no interest to his father. However, I hope to see you in a year and a half at farthest, and may then end it. I am glad you have done with Robshaca Rakestraw, one of wicked Lloyd's tools of clamour. I am pleased to hear thy accusers are more so for thy zeal for me, than real faults of thy own, and so I count upon.

I have had £100 of Colonel Gookin, which pay him as soon as possible thou canst, for his supply, and let Stephen Gould, my servant, and now the Governour's Clerk, [have] six pounds. He is an ingenious lad, a good scholar, and something of a lawyer, being about two years in Counsellor Poordan's service as clerk, a man of 800 or 900 per annum. His mother was a Stoney Stratford Penn, old Arthur's daughter, that was housekeeper at Chelsea College. His father's side, gentleman of 300 or 400 per annum, but left his father upon a religious account.

Here is a complaint against your Government, that you suffer publick Mass in a scandalous manner.[1] Pray send the matter of fact, for ill use is made of it against us here.

Watch the Queen's officers, that they trade not, and what thou canst detect of indirect methods, or charging travelling expenses, when they do not stir upon the Queen's account, send me word

[1] A small chapel in Walnut Street. It shows the malignity of Wm. Penn's enemies to bring such a charge. But this was High Church against the Quakers. — L.

of it. Remember Byfield's case, that I may have it, and try to bring it to a reference there, or he will complain to the Queen and Council. King's case, also.

Stand by Peter Bard, against that vile I. Moore. I am extremely prest in poor Ann Harrison's case, against Calvert, for she is reduced very low, after her charitable disposition, and really wants it. Fail not, pray, to give me an account of it per first.

I. Hogg, of New Castle, is indebted to one here who persecutes me to urge him to return her the improvement of the goods they entrusted him with when he went over. He is a Friend, if alive, and the meeting was at his house, at New Castle, when I was there.

Thou hast forgot birds blue and yellow, fine furs for muffs, petticoats, cloaks, or to line men's coats, or for counterpanes, and green wax, so easy to get; would excuse greater presents with a better acceptance; also, among those who interest themselves for me. Pray forget them not, among thy more weighty affairs; also, about the naturalization, it will be necessary that the parties send 10*s.* per head over, per first opportunity, which will be an easy purchase of their freedom, and I will be responsible for its disposal.

Pray go to the bottom with Colonel Evans about the mines, and what has become of Mitchel? who are let in the secret where they are? and who have worked in them? and examine if they have not been worked, embezzled, by and for persons of other colonies, if not much of the ore in gross, or but once fined, into some parts of Europe. It is a test upon J. Evans' honour and regard to me. I take his stay, if he stays, to be a proof that he believes it, and stays to benefit himself by gain and recommending his case, secrecy and justice to me. Let not poor Pennsbury be forgotten or neglected, and employ Wm. Watson, that comes from Bristol, with innocent Thomas Potts, who brings a pacquet for thee, if that honest man relishes him well, as to his sobriety and faithfulness. He gives thee a letter, as I remember, to be employed as first or second there to keep the house, the farm, and gardens till we come.

Pray, hast thou from Dr. Cox's son a bond of mine to John

Etheridge, of two hundred pounds, to have his interest in Salem, tenth; or upon Major Fenning's property, and send me an account the first returns. Write per pacquet boats, as well as directly. I leave this open, till I see Governour Gookin come to me; for it may be he goes not till three days hence, and then I can tell thee I have ended with the Fords.

Whatever thou doest, make up the account at £300 per annum, and your rate and calculation when I sent him over — Governour John Evans, I mean — and not one penny more, counting all overplus by fines, forfeitures, and all royalties, Proprietary, or Governour's benefits, to my credit and profit; and if the honour I have done him, by such a station and substance, £300 per year, to so young and inexperienced a man, obliges him not, but he must prick my bones in all my distresses, and truly leaving my prior gifts of the people unreceived, while those to him were carefully prest and gathered, that were three years after or more, I say I must change my opinion of his justice, as well as respect to me. I have given thee this direction. Let him have it transcribed, or read this to him. If he uses me, as I hope, fairly about the mines, if true, God's peculiar providence to redeem and extricate me in a needful time, I shall show a grateful sentiment. And pray remember ore, if not ores, are sent per first. And once more, What has become of Mitchel?

Colonel Gookin to-night and to-morrow stays yet with me, the wind being at north-west; but the fleet is ready, at Spithead, for the first fair wind.

This is the fourth day of the week. On 6th I hope to be at the Bull meeting,[1] and then to see t'other end of the town. The 12th of next month is appointed for Lord Baltimore and myself to be with the Lords of Trade and Plantations, about adjusting the boundaries. So you need not long languish under that complaint.

My poor wife had a quick and easy time for her last childbearing, almost a month since, and has a daughter of her own name, in the room of an excellent child that died last Spring,

[1] "Bull and Mouth" meetings in the city of London. — L.

the love and admiration of all that knew her. . . . . She and her father salute thee, as does thy true friend.

Wm. Penn.

P. S. — T. Grey has thy letter, which was inclosed to Js. Jeffrys. He imputes all the misfortunes in latter business to the coldness between you two, (the Governour and Secretary,) and that began his coldness. The Governour being most zealous of thy letters to me, as if I was freer with thee in his business than with him. On the contrary, I told T. Grey thou often begged me to avoid any such thing, to which T. G. replied he knew it from thy mouth. T. G. confesses that they, the Governour and he, were more intimate than you two, but never to my prejudice. In the mine matters I believe it.

Vale, till more offers.

P. S. — I formerly writ to thee about lots in several of the streets. I send thee the original. It was some plain, honest well-wisher that informed me. Pray take all possible care to preserve and make the best use of such valuable discoveries. My son's family are well. Deny my son Aubrey's attorneys any interest, if the fault be his; he has not the principal or the sale be not ratified by him. I thought to have sent thee word in this of the execution of the assignment or release of the Fords, but it is not done yet. Cousin Springett standing candidate for Clerk and Attorney to Haberdasher's Hall, £300 per annum, and a great struggle, postponing it till to-morrow, or next Second-day, being now the sixth of the week. Yet hope to do it by this fleet, not yet under sail, tho' the wind be at north. My love to Friends and people at large. Allow an errata.

Vale. Thy true friend, Wm. Penn.

To James Logan, by Governour Gookin.

This letter, as well as many of the others, should be more correctly pointed, in order to its being understood with facility. The rapid style of the writer consisting more in brief hints, than clear explanations of the various subjects that presented themselves. — L.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM CROASDALE.

PHILADA., 11*th* 8*br*, 1708.

FRIEND WM. CROASDALE: — Enclosed is the Governour's commission, appointing thee Sheriff[1] for the ensuing year, for as neither of the two persons elected for that office the 1st instant presented themselves within the time limited by law, the Governour took it for such a slight, both of the office and him, that the day after the time expired, viz., Second-day last, the 4th instant, he with some resentment affirmed, that, whosoever was chosen, neither should have it, and therefore till some are nominated that think it better worth their notice, the Governour has thought fit to continue thee; and upon this occasion I must put thee in mind that the Justices have formerly blamed thee very highly for a want of fidelity and discretion in so considerable a trust. I therefore recommend it, as a thing deserving thy most serious thoughts and endeavours, to avoid giving any such occasion for the future. Be modest and firm in the discharge of thy duty according to justice, without partiality, and think thyself obliged to speak no fairer to any man than the nature of the subject exacts from thee; for whoever studies to please all men will be displeased the best. Pray take this short piece of advice well, from thy well-wishing friend, JAMES LOGAN.

P. S. — William Biles brought not the return to the Governour till the 5th instant, and the Governour had promised the day before that neither of the elected should have it before he knew who they were, unless they came that night, which, tho' a day after the time, he would allow them, but nothing beyond it. Shew this letter to Jeremiah Langhorne.

[1] For Bucks County. — L.

James Logan to William Biles.

Philada., *8th-mo. 11th*, 1708.

Loving Friend: — I thank thy care in the information given by thine for Jos. Kirkbride, but am sorry for the reason of it. Thou and thy son have had possession of that island for many years; and therefore I desire he may keep it, and that the dispossessors may be obliged to make a forcible entry in the disseisin. I wrote to John Sotcher to take all possible care on it, for I will spare no pains nor cost to convince these persons, whoever they are, that they have been in the wrong; for were their pretences ever so good, yet good manners should have obliged them to have acquainted us first with their design. I suppose thy son will want no encouragement to endeavour their disappointment, such a settlement carrying so great an inconveniency to him.

William Croasdale is continued Sheriff this year, not thro' any particular disrespect to the elected, but the law requiring them to present themselves within two days after choice, and neither appearing on the 4th, which was the day after, the Governour resented it as a slight, both to the office and him, and therefore positively said, that unless the person chosen appeared that night — for he was willing to allow one day after the time, because of the Fifth-day of the week preceding — neither of them should have it, whoever they were; and next day, none having appeared, ordered me to prepare a blank commission. That day, viz., on the 5th instant, in the afternoon, thy son came to me with the return. I gave him a small hint of his neglect, but directed him to the Governour, from whom what answer he received I know not, but I was immediately requested to furnish a commission to William Croasdale, the late Sheriff, the Governour, being unwilling to make any change, but that since the persons chose had forfeited their right, the place should continue as if no election had been made, till the return of the next.

We had no Council from the time I saw thee at Bristol till the time we had appointed was expired, the Governour having been absent most of it, so that we must defer that business a little longer.

I am thy well-wishing friend, J. L.

James Logan to ——— ———.

[*Extract.*] Phila., 9*br 8th*, 1708.

My Good Friend:[1] . . . . . I have lost my intended companion for a voyage; Colonel Evans, I mean, who is now entirely dead to all his former friends and acquaintances, and lies buried, I think, night and day in the fair Rebecca's arms, that was, but is now the equally fair Madame Evans, which name she assumed in church, the 28th of 8br. last, I hope to her much satisfaction. I can add very few particulars of this great change; but so it is, and he is now firmly on the matrimonial vow.

James Logan to Governour Evans.

Philada., 9*br the* 10*th*, 1708.

To Governour Evans:

By a few lines I received yesterday from J. French, I perceive there is still cause to apprehend those gentlemen who began their attempt in the Assembly will carry them on, as far as lies in their power; that is, as they are concerned in the Courts of Justice, and endeavour there to put a stop to all proceedings.

Thy being there at this time, therefore, I hope will be an effectual means to disappoint them now, as their mean-spirited expectations from thee were justly and generously frustrated before. 'Tis a pity an alteration in the magistracy should be made, if matters could be carried on without it; but as there can be no hopes of this while R. H. is concerned, who has so openly declared himself, I believe it will be found absolutely necessary. If therefore thou please to send me orders, with a warrant for the Great Seal, I shall dispatch the Commission with all possible speed; but since the Court is so very nigh, I hope thou wilt be pleased to see it held before leaving the place.

I am, with due respects, &c., J. Logan.

[1] [The name of the person to whom this letter is addressed is not given by Logan. — Editor.]

James Logan to Governour Evans, at New Castle.

Philada., *9th 9br*, 1708.

May it please the Governour: — Having this morning received a letter from J. French, giving an account of the apprehensions he was under that the present Justices of the County[1] would push the matter lately in agitation so far that they would scarcely hold a Court this time, he doubted, unless some proper measures were taken beforehand, to alter the Commission, or in some way to prevail with the first-named in it. I immediately went abroad, to wait on thee before thy departure, but came a few minutes too late, which occasioned the present trouble.

To send an information of this, from Philadelphia thither, may be thought very much out of the way; but information is not so much my design, as to beseech thee, while there, to take all possible measures to maintain Government in its right channel, and not suffer such mean-spirited contrivances to take place or succeed. Those men who have ever been of the same temper since they came into the Government, are now resolved, as they have often been before, to bring about a change, if possible, and take this to be a proper opportunity, when, judging by themselves and their own sense of honour, they would faìn hope for, if not thy concurrence, thy connivance at least, before the next gentleman comes in; but of their mistake in this, I am very sensible, after so long and better acquaintance with thy Honour; only I would beg thou would think it worth thy thoughts to maintain the good order of Government in the same course from first to last, whatever change may come; tho' that we shall have any is not matter of certainty to me; for by the last vessel, and the many letters by her relating to our affairs, I hear not one word of that gentleman; but by one from William Crouch, dated in June, to P. Teague, at Bristol, in answer to one of his upon that head, he tells him he knows nothing at all of the matter. However, that now we shall see none during this winter is highly probable, but one that was intended is most certain, tho' we have never yet known that the matter was fully concluded on all hands, and therefore may fall out otherwise.

[1] New Castle. — L.

New Castle Court is the same day, as I remember, with our Fair, and I wish thou would be pleased to see it held by some means or other. 'Tis most scandalous in those gentlemen to flinch now, after so long acting and so often declaring their entire satisfaction. I beg thy excuse for this trouble, and that thou believe me to be,

Thy faithful friend, &c., J. Logan.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philada., *22d 9br*, 1708.

Honoured Governour: — This being intended by the pacquet boat, I shall write in one sheet, and only hint some things briefly, that are necessary for thee to know as soon as possible.

By a letter from H. Goldney and t'other Friends, dated 7th of 7br, per Captain Fay, from Bristol, in answer to mine, we find that thy business with the Fords was actually accommodated, and that in a very little time it would be wholly terminated, which we hope is happily done by this time. Thou mayst assure thyself, therefore, that thy bills shall be honourably paid, and that I shall use my utmost endeavours to get in what possibly I can. But if Friends have taken the country for their security for the money advanced, I do not see how thy present Commissioners can sell anything here, except there is some other sort of provision made than at present I can conceive any notion of, for I hope for the future all things will be kept very plain and clear, to prevent all further trouble to thee. T. Story in a few days embarks for the West Indies, and from thence designs for England, so that there will be but three[1] left, and of those Ed. Shippen is very weakly and can scarce expect to live long; so that we are likely to be entirely disabled, unless Edward recovers, to whose services thou art really indebted, let matters be ordered there how they will. If the Commissioners are wholly appointed by thee, as formerly, I believe S. Carpenter and Richard Hill may be as fit to be added as any, if they will

[1] The Commissioners of Property. — L.

be persuaded to act, of which I am a little doubtful, it being a business that few, I fear, will care to be concerned in. Isaac Norris would be very proper, but I fear he will not take the trouble, being wholly intent on his own business. He and his wife give their love to thee and thy family.

Since thou proposes, at thy next coming over, to spend the remaining part of thy life here, it will be absolutely necessary, if thou hopes to do it comfortably, to get all matters relative to the Lower Counties fully settled, both as to the lines of them and the southern bounds of the Province, and also as to the powers of Government; for without, the rents in the lower parts of Sussex, and near £3,000 for purchase-money in New Castle County, will scarce ever be recovered, and without a greater certainty in the other we shall never be at peace; for this last Assembly of those Counties, upon a design of those of New Castle, when they first heard of another Governour coming under thee, notwithstanding their rashness in proceeding before, required the Governour to shew them by what power he had to act with them; complaining that thou hadst often been applied to, to shew thy power of government over them. Yet they had never received any satisfaction, and the matter I found was laid so deep, that if they could effect a change no other way, they designed to throw all into confusion, that they might of necessity be thrown into the Queen's hands. I carried down with me all thou hadst left here, for that purpose, and perceived that they expected the Governour would have fallen in with them upon their proposing to solicit for a Commission to him from the Queen. But they were mistaken in the man. He had too much honour to join with anything so mean and base. He seemed surprised in his answer, that they should now, at his going off, as he told them, put such a question to him, after so long acting together, that he thought it not worth his while to enter upon the subject, but should leave it. I imagined at first there would be occasion to show what he had, but finding they were well apprised of all we could say, and had resolved among themselves, the leaders I mean, to account it all for nothing, and perceiving that there were enough in the House to break it up, tho' not to carry a vote of those who were on the other side,

we took that course, and so put an end to the dispute for that time. But if they can carry such another election as the last one, they will certainly renew it the next time and be exceedingly mischievous. I am forced to be short, but by the first good opportunity shall send copies of the papers that passed. I never had sharper work in my life than I had there for three or four days, and could find no other way to put a stop to their proceedings than by breaking the House by some of their own members going abruptly away; for it had not been proper for the Governour, after what he had said to them, to have dismissed them, because it would have too much argued a consciousness of his own weakness. But the matter must be otherwise settled than it is, to make us happy, which will never be done by uniting them with the Province under thee. The invalidity of laws passed by people without the bounds of the King's Charter, and yet by virtue of that Charter, having been so noised in all the Province Assemblies, that I believe it will be impossible now to choose one even of thy best friends, if such alone could be chosen, that would be for it.

Many are uneasy here that our laws are not approved. That of quit-rents will deserve thy utmost care, for a better, I believe, can never be obtained, and I take it extremely for thy advantage. I wish thou hadst got the Act of Property also passed, for thy own sake; for without such another we shall have a great deal of trouble to recover the overplus lands. We have sold Richard Stockton the thousand acres that were reserved out of the tract thou sold him before for £25 per hundred acres, to which several weighty reasons induced us, as that I cannot here mention. I know not how to treat with Haig about the mortgage, for want of the deeds to shew, but the young man is willing to sell his interest.

Tho' Tho. Grey brought no letter from me, we parted very good friends, and indeed I take him after a long experience to be both trusty and able, as well as of a singular good humour. Pray make my peace, if possible, with W. Aubrey; my letter by the Massachusetts fleet, I fear, offended him; and Isaac Norris tells me I should not have done it. I write to him, if possible, by this opportunity; but I have been extremely troubled at his usage of me . . . . . .

I design to use my utmost diligence to get in thy effects this spring, not only to answer bills, but also what further occasions thou mayst have, and then if thou comes not over thyself this next ensuing year, I should be glad in the Fall, to make a short trip over thither, for I want to see the Kingdom once more, and indeed 'tis time I should now, if ever, think of settling myself, tho' I am really less resolved that way than ever. I request a few words in answer to this; and do most earnestly beseech thee, for thy own future ease, as well as the peace of the country, by some means or other, to get all matters relating to the Lower Counties fully settled. An order of the Queen in Council tho', know well, will not avail much nowadays, in matters of property where men's estates are concerned, and a little with peace is better than the greatest plenty with discord; so that I believe it will be much for thy interest to settle the matter thyself, before thou leave that kingdom. I have been much more tedious than I at first intended, and shall now conclude, with due respect, &c. J. L.

James Logan to ———.[1]

[*Extract.*] Philada., *9br the 22d,* 1708.

Dear Charles: . . . . . Our Proprietor has cleared his incumbrances with the Fords for £7,600, and designs over the next Fall, as he writes. We hourly expect another Governour for this place, one Charles Gookin, a Captain of Earles' Regiment, a man of a very good character. He comes with one Lord Lovelace, appointed Governour of New York and the Jerseys.

Our Governour, Colonel Evans, I mean, designs much sooner over than intended, when he heard of being invited home to something of merit, they say, but he himself knows not yet what it is.

I am sorry to hear thee complaining of fortune, this last Summer especially. It looks as if thy affairs were like Gideon's

[1] [The name of Logan's correspondent is not given. — Editor.]

fleece, all around dew, and only dry; but I hope 'tis not altogether so bad; for we know the favour of a captain of one of the Queen's ships attending that trade, as is commonly more likely to give the other side of that old gentleman's experiment: that is, to be well bedewed when all around was dry. Think me not quite mad for quoting Scripture examples to thee; I am not very subject to it, and may be pardoned. Last night our Governour, H. Brook, Jno. Hamilton, and M. Ffanconnier, of New York, drank thy health heartily, yes, too heartily, which makes this letter to be somewhat the worse wrote.

The bearer of this, Lyford by name, is an unfortunate young widow, who came over from London this last Summer with her husband, and is now left, by his death, without anything to keep herself; for being a little time before taken with a good cargo, and carried into France, lost all; so that now she comes, as well as others, a fortune-hunting. She hopes to get into some reputable family to wait on a gentlewoman, &c. Her own character is very good, and I wish thy good word at a distance could be helpful to her among some good women there, if any such fall within the verge of thy acquaintance.

. . . . . The gentlemen I have mentioned all give their service to thee. So does honest Colonel Ingoldsby. I intend, if possible, to force a trip over to England next Summer, if Governour Penn comes not. Pray let us either see thee, or hear from thee oftener, for thy lines are always very acceptable. T. Grey went hence on 8br, 1707, for London, but arrived not there till June last. He was well then, and very much presses Colonel Evans to hasten over. J. L.

William Penn to James Logan.

Kensington, 29*th Xbr*, 1708.

James Logan, Loving Friend: — The ships being still at Spithead, I send this to let thee know, that a day or two after Colonel Gookin left me, the Fords were paid, and the country redeemed to and by me, and I granted my assistants a fresh mortgage, without naming that base family therein. Sec-

ondly, I have sent you a new Lieutenant-Governour, and also a Charter for a Free School for Friends, which, with orders to Colonel Quarry to accept the customs of tobacco in kind, will, I hope, strike all, even the worst of my enemies, with fear, respect, or confusion.

My poor wife is better, that has been ill to a dangerous circumstance. All mine by her are well, which are six in number, thro' mercy, and so is my son Penn now, though dubious a month ago, and my daughter Aubrey, but my son's wife is at present out of order. Pray stop occasion of more interest to my son Aubrey, for I will to pay no more on account of my daughter's £2,000.

My wife has had Jones' letter, and is glad that she and the Friends have got well home. She, and John, Thomas, and Margaret, my children, salute her and them with myself. I shall be also glad to hear the like of honest Thomas Potts' company from Bristol, and the t'other two ships, one from Bristol, t'other from Liverpool, and to be sure it will be good news to hear the Lieutenant-Governour 's safely arrived among you, and my several pacquets. I add no more, but my general and special love, as proper and suitable, and the best wishes for all your happiness, being their as well as thy real friend,

Wm. Penn.

Salute me to the Governour.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philada., 17*th* 11*th-mo.*, 1708.

Honoured Governour: — Thomas Story now embarking for Barbadoes, I send thee these few lines by him, to hint again, in short, such things as at this time I account most especially needful.

His departure in a hazardous voyage leaves us only three Commissioners. Edward Shippen, who has been a faithful drudge to thee in this way, has been exceeding sickly and weak all this Winter, but seems now to be recovering strength;

but G. Owen designing, next 1st-month, for New England, will quite break the Commission for the time, so that if thou still appoints Commissioners, there must be an addition, to prevent the like again. Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, and Isaac Norris, are the fittest, I believe; but the first and last, I fear, will with difficulty be persuaded to act, tho' not for want of friendship or good-will. Samuel Preston is also a very good man, and now makes a figure; and, indeed, Rachel's[1] husband ought particularly to be taken notice of, for it has been too long neglected, even for thy own interest. If any new Commission should come without thyself, as I hope not, pray let it be no worse than the last, of which thou hast a copy.

If we are to be so happy as to see thyself and family here, as thine by I. Norris intimates, I must press, what I hinted in my last, with all earnestness, to wit, to get both the division lines, and the Government of the Lower Counties settled. By the want of the first thy interest very much suffers; and in the second, some of the leading men of New Castle have certainly formed a design to throw all into confusion. They refuse to act, and as I said in my last letter, have called thy powers, openly in Assembly, into question.

We hear nothing yet of Colonel Gookin, nor of the *Alpin*, in which he was to come. The Lord Lovelace is arrived, with one or two ships more, but the *Maidstone* man-of-war, and the rest, are still missing; we hope they are in Virginia or Bermuda, the season having been so extremely sharp that they could not without great difficulty venture on these coasts; but 'tis thought exceeding strange here how he came to be persuaded to take his passage in such a vessel. Upon our new Governour's arrival the gentlemen I mentioned seemed resolved to make the utmost enquiry they can; and he brings no other powers from the Crown to govern them, for the approbation which seemed to be all they wanted before is now accounted as nothing; they will, I fear, give us great perplexity. This is the only method, they think, they have left to make a separation between the Province and those parts which they believe would redound much to the advantage of New Castle, where their private interests more

[1] She was one of the daughters of Thomas Lloyd. — L.

particularly are concerned. This, and the want of a fort, and to be great men, without a controller near at hand, seems to be their chief, if not whole inducement to these base measures. We have lost Captain Rodney this Summer, who living in Kent, and being a man of more honour than all the rest, as he daily more and more shewed himself, would have been a great check upon them. John Hill, of Sussex, is also lately dead, of whom I can neither say much good nor harm; but that, in the main, he was a variable, good-natured man, and easily wrought upon where he thought he could gain the most honour to himself. But now these parts are so reduced that there is scarce one man of reputation left in all these counties, besides these two or three who are unhappily engaged in a wrong interest, our only security at present seems to be, in a most active sheriff for the County of New Castle, who will spare no pains to keep matters in the right channel, the same John French who was unfortunately engaged in the alarm. This, therefore, I can assure thee, will require thy most serious thoughts and application, for those designers will leave no stone unturned that 's in their power to move, to make thy administration uneasy to thee; and if thou leave England without sufficient tackle to bear up against these ruffles, I fear thou wilt find a flaw in that tranquillity thou ought in justice to propose to thyself amongst us. If, therefore, thou canst not get these matters effectually settled and put on so clear a foundation, that none can find anything to pick holes in, which certainly ought to be done in thy lifetime, the next thing to be endeavoured seems to me to be a letter, either from the Queen herself, if such a thing be possible to be compassed, or at least from the Lords of Trade, to advise them to their duty; and another from the Lord Treasurer to Colonel Quarry, who is in a manner immediately under him, counselling him and the rest of the Queen's officers by him, to live peaceably, &c. I only hint these things, and hope my freedom will not be ill taken. But I must not omit acquainting thee, that, if upon the foot of the grants heretofore made thee, thou entertain any hopes of uniting those Counties with the Province, as formerly, thou wilt, I verily believe, be disappointed, thy best friends here being now generally of opinion that it will not be safe for them to take in other per-

sons within the Charter, who are really without the bounds and extent of it. This matter has been so noised in our Assemblies that it will not be found practicable; for thou knows, by thy last being here, that these people are widely different from what thou left them in 1684, and since 1701 they are not at all mended.

William Trent, upon his wife's death designing for England, is about selling his house[1] that thou lived in, with the improvement of a beautiful garden. I wish it could be made thine, nothing in this town so well fitting a Governour. His price is £900 of our present money, which 'tis hard that thou canst not spare. I would give £20 or £30 out of my own pocket that it were thine; nobody's but thine.

Isaac Norris to John Rodman.

[*Extract.*] Philada., *2d Feb.*, 1708–9.

My Friend John Rodman, New York:

. . . . Thou wilt hear of our new Governour, Colonel Charles Gookin, under Governour Penn, and with the Queen's approbation. The Proprietor has ended with the Fords, and that mortgage cleared off by the loan of some friends.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philada., *3d 12th-mo.*, 1708–9.

Honoured Governour: — On the 22d of 9br, by way of Jamaica, and on the 17th of last month, by Barbadoes, I sent two letters, intended by the pacquet-boat, to hint such matters as I then thought essentially necessary, particularly that thy bills

[1] Built by Samuel Carpenter, and sold by him to William Trent. Samuel Carpenter moved his family out of it to accommodate the Proprietor, upon his arrival in 1699. It is in Second Street, the Slated House, as it used to be called, the S. E. corner of Norris' Alley, the ruins of it now only remaining. It then possessed the advantage of a large lot towards Front and Walnut streets, and was shaded with trees. — L

[The lot on which it stood now forms a portion of the site of the Chamber of Commerce. — Editor.]

would be answered that thou hadst been pleased to advise me of . . . . . .

I informed thee also, that the Representatives of the Lower Counties, by questioning thy powers of government, in their open Assembly, had laid a design to bring about a revolution there; but that means were found for that time to put an end to it by breaking up the House; those that were for the design not making a quorum, tho' a majority; but that it would still be endeavoured, as opportunity offered, till such time as that affair should be fully settled at home, which for thy own peace and ease will be indispensably necessary before thou leaves that kingdom; otherwise, we shall still be in the same confusion.

I told thee that Thomas Story was gone to the West Indies, that G. Owen intended for New England in the Spring, and therefore that our Commission would be broke, for a time at least, if matters were to continue in the same foot as before; that if an addition was to be made, Samuel Carpenter, Richard Hill, and Isaac Norris, or Samuel Preston, I now add, would be very fit men, if they would undertake it. In my last I again pressed that of the Lower Counties very closely, as a matter highly deserving thy consideration; which, therefore, I hope will be granted it. I am now to give thee the good news of Colonel Gookin's arrival at this town, from Virginia, on the last day of last month, which, by the way, was the last also of the term for which the impost was granted. He was proclaimed the first of this month, and yesterday held a Council, took the usual oaths, and issued a proclamation for continuing of officers. The gentleman, as far as can be judged of him, promises very fair (I mean not in words) to make good thy whole character of him, and therefore to make the people happy, if they please to consent to it themselves, which I very much question.

He has shewed me a receipt, under thy hand, for £100 sterling, for which thou promises to give him bills on me at 25 per cent. exchange, but he never took any for it, he says, nor has anything besides to shew. He adds, that he let thee have another £100, to furnish thy son, for which thou gave him two bills of exchange for £50 sterling each, which bills he was obliged to leave

behind him, upon the trouble that was unworthily given him before his coming away. Now thou advises me only of one £100, for which I am to pay him at the rate of 60 per cent. advance; but seeing he owns he had bills for that sum, I cannot see how I can pay anything until the bills appear. This makes both him and me uneasy; and, indeed, upon the small observations he has been able to make of the country, he is apprehensive that he has changed for the worse, being more particularly concerned at thy obliging him at Portsmouth to sign articles that he should receive no more than £200 sterling per annum, including all perquisites, after thou hadst at London, he says, in express words given him an expectation of £400 being paid him yearly by the Assembly.

He seems to be a plain honest man, and of a temper best suiting a soldier, but of prudence enough to consider as well how himself is to live in the world, as how he shall be helpful to others in it; therefore seems jealous, from the opportunities he has had of considering matters in passing thro' Virginia and Maryland, that he shall be so far from being enabled by his new post to make any provision for a change, if one should happen; that his whole allowance will scarce be a subsistence; and is the more anxious, because he has, he says, but very little now to show of those £300 which by his care he had saved in the army, or of the £350 which he had for his place. He is also much troubled at the story told thee in London, of his having wronged his men of their pay, which he affirms he could, if there, prove to be so far from true, that he could make it appear he had often wronged himself by advancing his own money to them when they were in straits, to answer their necessities; but had never once acted upon what he was charged with, and that this report could never arise from any other grounds than his frugality in saving some part of his own pay when others squandered more than their all. This is the substance of a discourse he had with me yesterday, and I cannot but think it will prove a great unhappiness to us if his reflections upon the disappointment he may meet with should discourage his zeal in the business he is engaged in; for were he a Solomon, he will certainly meet with enough to try his temper. But we shall do our best.

The alteration of the money, now shortly coming on, will lay us under a necessity of meeting the Assembly this year, which otherwise would better be deferred till another election, for the present is as bad as almost it can be. D. Lloyd ought by all means to be prosecuted one way or other for that remonstrance sent in 1704; but we want the original papers, under his hand, which we have long expected, and are much disappointed they are not come now, but ought, if possible, to have them by some safe opportunity directed to York or Maryland before next Yearly Meeting, at which time Friends generally convene, in 7br; and before the same time, if possible, we ought to have a repeal of that law passed three years ago for elections, which while in force we shall scarce ever be able to gain a good one; but then with that repeal we should have the rest, at least it should be represented to the disaffected as a particular design against the people's privileges. It is now, I assure thee, the earnest desire of most of thy friends that that law may be repealed, because, instead of answering any good end, our enemies are only strengthened by it.

I am extremely sorry to find thee so angry with Colonel Quarry. I have been very intimate and free with him ever since his last arrival, and have found good service in it. Once or twice, as 'tis prudence to watch an enemy newly reconciled, I was somewhat jealous of him, but the matter was soon cleared up. If he writ slightingly either of Friends or thee when upon that head of Parson Evans and the Church there, perhaps it might be imputed to the remains of their old divisions with that gentleman and common humour of the times, or way of the world, to consider only what will most directly serve the present turn in hand, without considering who is a friend or who an enemy. Yet, in general, I can say, that our intimacy has been several times of great service to me, for he has been my best oracle to find out the practices of our enemies, in which he has often been very communicative, with a great appearance of sincerity. Upon the whole, I am very sensible he is a variable man, and not easily to be fixed so as to be entirely depended on; yet I am fully persuaded 'tis thy interest to keep in with him, and must, therefore, beg thy leave to act accordingly here. As to John

Moore, it will be a difficult matter ever to reclaim him, his sourness of temper is scarce to be altered, and of this Colonel Quarry has several times complained to me, and assured me withal, that, unless he would change his measures and forbear meddling with anything relating to Government, he would find endeavour to find an effectual way to make him sensible of his error; for he, as to his own part, was resolved never to concern himself in those points any more. I request thee to consider this, and let me have thy thoughts upon it.

I perceive by thy last that the country is to be mortgaged, *de novo*, for the payment of the money advanced to the Fords, and is to remain in thy hands for a year or two, and then to come into possession of the Trustees; but as the business now before us is to sell and raise money, I wish it had been remembered that, while the whole lies under mortgage, no sufficient title can afterward be made to any part of it, unless there be some other provision made than I can form any notion of. Thou mayst be assured that whilst people have this notion, a full stop will be put to all sales; nor until we get another Law of Property for the overplus, shall we under any circumstances be able to persuade the people to buy; for the lawyers, with the help of some of our late Assembly members, have generally spread it thro' the country that, the former Law of Property being repealed, thou canst come at no part of their lands. They certainly are wrong in this, but in the mean time it will give us great trouble, so that a law must be obtained, if possible; but till the method of our elections be altered, I fear it will scarcely be practicable.

Pray, if thou comes not speedily over thyself, write a close letter to Friends, concerning David Lloyd, fit to be communicated, insisting chiefly on that remonstrance, and his directing letters to thy enemies; for his indirect proceedings in that affair, and his making his private revenge with the pretence of asserting only the people's rights, I believe will prove the best topick; but 'twill require great care to guard it well, and yet, at the same time, to make it close enough. With this should be sent the original I have mentioned. Time enough to be here by September next.

There is nothing yet certainly discovered about the mines.

Colonel Evans has been very free with me upon that head. He designs to stay no longer here than to be ascertained, as far as he can be, and then will hasten over. There has been none opened, and I heartily wish I may ever be able to tell thee more of the matter hereafter, for I fear Mitchel has tricked us all. He has gone over to England, with an intention, we believe, to put his countrymen, the Swiss, upon purchasing a tract of the Queen, beyond the Potomac, where he thinks they lie, and is, as he accounts, a part of Virginia. It will, therefore, very nearly concern thee to have an eye to all his motions there, and prevent him, especially till Colonel Evans comes over, who, I believe, will be very free with thee; for, in all appearance, he has been so with me. I shall be extremely puzzled how to make up accounts with him. Thou, by thy last letter, confines him to £300 per annum only, and yet in a former allowed him £400 as long as the Assembly's grant continued. Besides that, thou made mention of some part of the fines to go to him. How I shall be able to manage it is more than I at present see.

Thou hast several times mentioned a design some foreigners had of making large purchases there. I wish it were done. £5,000 sterling, paid in London, would go a great way to make thee easy, and I dare affirm would be better to thee than £10,000 of our present money, returns are so extremely difficult. In Maryland they have lately passed an Act allowing only 10 per cent. on protesting a Bill of Exchange, which will render all their bills not worth the purchasing. Indeed, in general, for some years past, they have studied every possible method to discourage all kinds of trade between us and them. It were to be wished the merchants would oppose the confirmation of that law.

In the third article of thy instructions to the Governour thou art large in directing him to procure an union between the Province and Lower Counties, but I am fully persuaded it will be impossible ever to persuade the Province to it. They now know on what foot they stand, and can plead the King's Charter for their laws; but to take in others within that, who are locally situate without it, is what I believe they will never agree to, that matter having been so largely canvassed in the late Assemblies that scarce anybody of years and common sense amongst us is

unacquainted with the whole notion. I have wrote several times to this same purpose, and I believe it may be depended on, that without new powers or orders from the Crown it will be found impracticable. I have very earnestly pressed the settlement of the Lower Counties, as well as the government of them, as their boundaries, without which thou wilt never be as easy here as might be wished. Another article of thy instructions directs the Governour to dissolve the Assembly, and if that is impracticable, then by a writ to call another; but were that attempted, I should be harder put to it to justify my advising it than to answer ten times as much as all the fourteen articles against me. Thy character binds thee up from it, and there must be no breach of that with this people. David Lloyd is no longer in the Corporation, Robert Asheton being now Recorder, who, I believe, is really thy hearty friend; but he has a great expensive family, and therefore is to be borne with. T. Grey and I parted very good friends, as indeed we always lived, and it was no small trouble to me that I missed him in Maryland. I must say of him, that after seven years' experience, I always found him to be both faithful and able, as well as of a singularly good temper. But I must now conclude with the paper.

Thy most obedient serv't, JAMES LOGAN.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADA., *24th 12th-mo.*, 1708–9.

HONOURED GOVERNOUR: — Since Governour Gookin's arrival, on the last of last month, I advised thee by way of the West Indies, of what I thought most necessary, and shall again take this opportunity, by our parting friend, to touch briefly on what I conceive may be of importance to thee to be acquainted with.

Our affairs, upon the change, seem to go smoothly on, to the disappointment of the factious. The former ordinance for holding the courts is renewed; New Castle matters have been managed very successfully, and I cannot at present see any thing for some small time to disturb our peace. But our own Assembly,

which, as it is, must be met this year, will, in all probability, be very troublesome. To keep easy with them, which will be our present business, and to endeavour to provide for the next election, that none but honest men may once more represent us. But this is scarce to be expected whilst the Act, passed in 1705, for Regulating Elections, is in being. This, therefore, ought immediately to be repealed, and the orders of Council for it sent over, if possible, before the 1st of 8br next, with all the originals that may be used against D. Ll., particularly the remonstrance of 1704. To which if a close Letter to Friends, demanding justice of them against that wicked instrument, were added, it might prove very useful. On this depends at least one year's quiet maintenance of the Government.

I have already expressed my great concern for thy dissatisfaction with Colonel Quarry.[1] According to thy directions, I have had a familiarity with him ever since his last arrival, and have ever found him true here to what he professed. I have often been obliged to him for his freedom with me in many points, which has really been of great service to me, and therefore can but admire at what should be the occasion of thy resentments, tho' I suppose I have guessed it, viz.: That at the time the Lord Cornbury so widely differed with the Assembly of Jersey, whose treatment of him as their Governour, whether right or wrong in other points, was certainly scurrilous and provoking, our Assembly here fell into a strain the most particular and odd that ever had been heard of. Colonel Quarry, as a member of the Council of the Jersey side, was upon this, I believe, very severe, not only on that Assembly but ours also, as they were both generally Quakers, and indeed the provocations on our side were so great that it was exceeding difficult for any man of sense, who had an opportunity given him, not to lay them out in their proper colors. This, I am apt to believe, Colonel Quarry has

[1] In order to prevent a rupture between the Proprietor and Colonel Quarry, James Logan wrote to Jos. Wythe, a respectable Friend, in London, who was intimate with the Proprietor, entreating him to use his good offices for that purpose, especially as he was one of the guarantees to a treaty of amity between them, and which the Colonel declared he had never broke, nor had he ever written one syllable against the Proprietor's interest since his last interview. — L.

done, with some severity, against our people; but upon this he could scarce say more than thyself would have thought if here, as to those particular men themselves; and if he has extended the reflection beyond the men, upon the profession, it should be considered, I think, with submission, that as he is a member of the Church of England, he is not to be expected to be a well-wisher to the profession. I am persuaded he never designed anything against thee or thy interest in particular in anything that has passed since his last arrival; and that some of the unkindest turns have been given what he wrote, seems very probable to me. I have spoke to him largely about it, and he freely offers to shew me every word that he ever has wrote home concerning those matters, and further offers to let thee, either there or here, see every syllable that he shall write on such heads to the Lords, before 'tis presented; and is firmly resolved, he says, never more to meddle with any public affairs of that kind, where he is not indispensably obliged to it. His own repose, as far as consistent with his immediate duty in his office, is what he thinks now fit for him to study. To be very free on this head, I think 'tis absolutely necessary that you should be very good friends. I see no manner of cause to doubt his hearty inclinations on his side, and tho' reflections upon those in whom thou art so nearly interested cannot but affect thee, yet, as I cannot think they were intended for thy injury, it will be convenient to pass them over entirely. I could give thee many strong arguments for to induce thee to be of the same sentiments, but believe them scarcely necessary. Thy own inclination to peace, and a just regard as well to thy interest and ease, will be sufficient. I therefore request thee to answer this, as is desired, and to give directions once more that he may be of the Council, where, he says, he will accept of a place, if it can but be made appear that it would be for thy interest, against he is resolved never to act anything. I would further venture to suggest whether it would not be well to offer him a seat in the Council.[1]

[1] [Logan, in another letter to Penn, without date, but written at this period, expresses his opinion of Quarry, in terms similar to those here used, and then continues as follows: — Editor.]

"There is yet nothing certainly discovered about the mines. Colonel

The Governour calling on me to go with him, almost this minute, to Burlington, obliges me to be very short in what follows. Colonel Evans, I hope, acts honourably about the mines; but there are no real discoveries of value made as yet, tho' expected every day. Michael is gone over to treat with the Crown for a tract for his countrymen, the Swiss. A settlement is the pretence, but mines are the thing, therefore to be guarded against till better understood, as shortly, I believe, it will be the place he has pitched upon. He is subtile and scarce to be trusted.

Colonel Gookin is uneasy about his bills. I want advice as to Charles Jones and T. Raines bills . . . . . The power in and to the Lower Counties ought to be settled . . . . . .

This Summer, perhaps, I may have in my hands something more than will answer all the demands on me, tho' thy bills alone amount to above £2,400. I therefore request orders how I shall dispose of it, and beg it may be remembered that so long as the country lies under a mortgage, nothing can be sold, unless some particular provision more than common be made. I have not yet settled with Colonel Evans, nor do I know how I shall, he expecting from former letters £400 per annum, since the Assembly's grant; and now thou orders only £300, which will be hard to reconcile with him who has an eye close enough to his own interest. I beg what I have here wrote may be considered, and answered as soon as possible, and that thou wouldst take all, as 'tis sincerely intended, for thy real interest and service, by,

Thy most faithful and obedient serv't, JAS. LOGAN.

2d 1st-month, 1708–9.

P. S.— The post coming in gives us an account that the Massachusetts fleet is to sail in about ten days, which hastens him away and gives me time only to run over a duplicate of my last,

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Evans has been very free with me upon that head. He designs to stay no longer here than to be ascertained, as far as he can be, and then will hasten over. There has been none opened, and I heartily wish I may be able to tell thee more of the matter hereafter, for I fear Michael Barzillion has tricked us all. He is gone over to England, with an intention, we believe, of putting his countrymen, the Swiss, upon purchasing of the Queen a tract beyond the Potomac, where, he thinks, they lie, and is, as he accounts, a part of Virginia. It will, therefore, nearly concern thee to have an eye to all his motions."

which is the above sent by Patr. Henderson, by way of Maryland. It was all wrote in a great hurry, and copied in no less. What relates to Colonel Quarry I designed, whilst writing it, to shew him. I beg thee to consider that matter fully, for if he turns against us and unites with the wrong party among Friends, it may make matters exceedingly troublesome, and is therefore to be avoided, when not obliged to it by necessity. I write again this week by a brigantine, bound directly hence for London.

I am, *ut supra*, J. L.

ISAAC NORRIS TO JOSEPH PIKE.

PHILADELPHIA, *25th 12th-mo.*, 1708–9.[1]

DEAR FRIEND JOSEPH PIKE: — It is now about four months since I received thy acceptable and kind letter per Pentecoste Teague; but, by reason of the winter, have not till now had an opportunity of answering it. This is intended for our dear friend, Patrick Henderson, and to him, if thou sees him, I refer for a more particular account of affairs here, public and private, than I can now give thee . . . . . What thou mentions upon the receipt of my dear brother's letter is comfortable, tho' it so little revives the sense of that great loss to me. I could wish Providence had placed me nearer thee, that I might place thee in his stead, which, with thy leave, I would be glad to do, tho' thus distanced.

And here also we must express somewhat of our concern for that sweet-tempered, good woman and kind friend, S. Haman. We are duly sensible of the great loss her husband, family, and you, her friends, have found thereby. The Lord, if it be his will, press these things upon our thoughts, sanctify them to us, and prepare us for the like.

. . . . . I note what thou writes about thy MSS. I have heard, but not seen yet, that book of Bennet's, though I once saw the man at T. Sowles' shop. He seemed a smooth, jolly

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — EDITOR.]

man, and it is said his book is artful and oily, saving somewhat in the preface. If thou come out, I could wish some here. Those ordinances, so called, being of late the great bait, and made use of to take some that hung loose among us, and more of late than could be wished, tho' the persons in themselves of no great value, if any in the church, and, it may be feared, too little partook at the inward table, nor much, if any, baptized there. Yet this stepping out makes a noise and is magnified and improved by those whose aim is to aggrandize themselves and secure a good benefice by their merit that way . . . . .

Thy affectionate friend, Is. Norris.

P. S. — Our new Governour Gookin is arrived.

William Penn to James Logan.

Reading, *3d 1st-mo.*, 1708–9.

Loving Friend: — I writ to thee last week by way of Bristol, and which will come by one Short, a shipwright, that brings some letters from Father Callowhill, also from Jeffrey Pinnel, and Thomas Oads, in which I have been particular, and to which I refer thee, which pray take notice of and improve it for my just advantage. This goes by Maurice Lisle, whom I suppose the Friends concerned with me intend to recommend to thee, so far as he can be useful to thee in their and my business; and if thou findest him capable and upright, I shall like that he may be encouraged by thee.

I inclose to thee the Queen's order in Council, to dismiss and discharge the Lord Baltimore's petition, which inadvertently was referred to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, as thou wilt find by the said order; and the reason for that Lords' proceeding to such a foolish as well as unfair proceeding, was, I presume, some private encouragement, from not the most judicious, to graft upon the Maryland address for ascertaining the common boundaries, an abolition of the orders of Council, 1685, for securing me in the possession of the Lower Counties, and which was indeed a definitive sentence, upon divers hearings; for Queen

or King and Council are reputed the last prerogative jurisdiction upon prerogative grants or patents. One would think such a quick and thorough turn of ill endeavours should convince our enemies there we are not left a prey to their designs, which is an article to be insisted there more than here while I am here.

I have thine of 7th br., and one from Colonel Evans, that tells me he is coming hither to vindicate himself, which, in my opinion, is a sleeveless errand. But let him do as he pleases. I hope a change itself is grateful, or they that desired it must be very base to me, as well as to him. I mean Evans.

T. Grey tells me he has not yet gone over his papers, and positively affirms thou hast the most profitable part of the account of fines or perquisites, and he never had. If I can see him or find the note he gave me, I'll insert the term of that part of the gettings, which he assures me he never meddled with. By all means take care I have justice from him, for he cannot think I sent him there to get an estate out of me; but to live without state or the expense of it, and I did what nobody else would have done for him; and I hope he will be so reasonable as to think I am so in my expectations under all my unspeakable burthens. If he leaves you indeed, then try to secure for me his plantation; for I think from about Shackamaxon to the town is one of the pleasantest situations upon the river for a Governour, where one sees and hears what one will, and when one will, and yet have a good deal of the sweetness and quiet of the country; and I do assure thee if the country would settle upon me £600 per annum, as money is now ordered, I would hasten over this following Summer, God permitting me and mine, and leave my friends here to pay themselves out of my European estate, as well as what that place in debts and rents would afford to it. Cultivate this with the best Friends.

Pray forget not Beaumont's purchase of William Biddle, that I have bought, to speak of it, the more to loosen his hold of the island before Pennsbury. I hope the lands of Jo. Blakin, 1,000 acres, I. Nelson, &c., which I formerly writ about, are laid out in valuable overplusses, for my younger brood, as also some lots in town, as thou canst not but remember in several former letters.

Be sure to assist Colonel Gookin in all that is possible, for he

has promised to follow the measures my friends and officers, truly in my honest interest, shall give him from time to time, or I had never sent him; and I have a bond of £2,000 or £3,000 security for his just performance. All that can be, preserve him out of all dangerous or lessening measures that may expose him or me to mischief or contempt, and engage two or three able and sensible Friends, and as many of others to be of private friends and council to him, in the nature of a cabinet, for the better prevention of ill-designing persons, and the popular performance of his duty in Government. Advise him to correspond with all the neighbouring Governours, especially Lord Lovelace and Colonel Seymour, and also to keep a diary or journal, which was one of my instructions to him.

Tho' we have here a bill for naturalization in the House, and I think I never writ so correctly, as I did to some members of Parliament, as well as discoursed them on that subject, yet that point being a fair flower in the Speaker's garland, it moves but slowly; and lest it should miscarry, fail not, pray, to send me over the names of all our foreigners not born in the country, and I will put them into one Act, or at least patent, for denization, to put them out of their trouble that villain Lloyd put the Saxons and others into, as the chiefest of them told me, and gave it under his hand, which I have to shew . . . . . .

Peace is yet dubious; yet I think it will be the last campaign, which is ready to open, and the mighty preparations on all hands and sides, rather confirm me in my opinion, as well as our vehemences, and calling out too much at home.

I think I have been pretty large; yet shall observe that Mitchel[1] has been with me, and by him and T. Grey I learn the misunderstanding between the late Governour and thyself, if they say true, has cost me dear; for they assure me he and company may, and they believe do, make £100, if not twice told, weekly. The Indians chiefly discovered the mine and work it on the spot, and he told me the way of it. It is the king of the Shawnoe Indians, and some few of his subjects that perform the business for him, viz., Colonel Evans. Pray scrutinize the

[1] [This person is sometimes called Michael in the correspondence. We cannot ascertain which is the more correct designation. — EDITOR.]

matter well, and let me hear from thee with all the speed thou canst; for the assurances Mitchel gives me, makes me solicitous to pry into that affair, whence help and reward may arise to deliver me.

A duplicate of the Fords release I desired might be sent thee, to put the redemption of the country, tho' a mere mock title to them before, as forty instances show, out of all doubt.

We are, thro' the Lord's mercy, pretty well, and send thee our remembrances. Give ours also to all our friends, and particularly to[1] S. C., C. P., R. H., I. N., G. O., E. S., N. S., T. S., T. M., J. G., S. P., R. S., with their families. Ann P. and Joan must not be forgotten, our old servants, to whom Johnnie, Tommie, and Peggy beg to be remembered. Salute me to the Lieutenant-Governour, and his Clark, to the Council and Magistrates, which closes this from,

Thy assured friend, Wm. Penn.

I hear nothing now of Colonel Quarry's complaints.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philada., 5*th* 1*st-mo.*, 1708–9.

Honoured Governour: — In November last I took the liberty to inform thee that some of the leading members of the New Castle Assembly, chosen the first of October last, had formed a design to call thy powers of government in these three Lower Counties into question, and had proceeded in it until prevented by the other members dissenting from them, who at the time put an end to the matter by breaking up the House. But I had reason, notwithstanding, to believe, tho' they were then disappointed, they would not fail to send an address home by James Coutts, who was to undertake the management of it in their behalf. Accordingly I now beg leave to acquaint thee that they have drawn an address directed to the Lords of Trade, &c., com-

[1] Samuel Carpenter, Caleb Pusey, Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, Griffith Owen, Edward Shippen, Nathaniel Stansbury, Thomas Story, Thomas Masters, Jos. Growden, Samuel Preston, Robert Settle. — L.

plaining of divers grievances that they lie under by reason of thee, and the Quakers. Particularly they complain that under thy administration they have no sufficient power to enact laws for the publick good; that they are left naked and defenceless in this time of war, and that they have had no Provincial Courts among them for these seven years past, &c.; and this is signed by nine members, of which James Coutts, Jasper Yeates, Richard Halliwell, and Robert French are the leaders. James Coutts signs it as Speaker, tho' it was never ordered in the House, nor ever so much as once voted there, and in it he is recommended to be their agent to negotiate and plead their cause. The same James Coutts whom thou hast always heard to be as opposite to that party as the poles are to each other, but who has now seen fit to change sides, and being of a temper sufficiently warm, will not want zeal to push the matter as far as it will go forward, unless he finds cause there to think better of it. But in case he proceeds, I shall here give thee a faithful account of how this business has been managed.

The country people of this Province having of late generally fallen upon the practice of bolting their own wheat, and selling or shipping the flour, Jasper Yeates, a man of a working brain for his own interest, found his trade at Chester to fall under a very discouraging decay. Upon this he has frequently discoursed of removing to New Castle, where he is possessed of a large tract of land close to the town, by means of that irregular grant made to Colonel Markham, of whom he purchased it. But as that town has never been considerable for trade, and therefore his land, notwithstanding the conveniency of its situation, not very valuable, the first thing to be laboured was how to render it so, of which they could never conceive any great hopes unless some bar were thrown in between that and Philadelphia, that there might be no communication between this and the Lower Counties, whose inhabitants have always chosen rather to bring their trade quite to Philadelphia than to stop or have anything to do at New Castle, which with the unhealthiness of the place, and their disorderly way of living among the people, has been the cause why that place is not much more considerable than it was thirty years ago, notwithstanding there are three

times the number of inhabitants in the country about it than were at the time Philadelphia was first seated. To make this town flourish, therefore, was the business, to which nothing seemed more conducive than an entire separation of these counties from the Province. Formerly they had been strictly united; but since thy departure, J. Yeates, principally, with French and Halliwell, by their obstinacy, caused a separation in the business of legislation, which when endeavoured to be made up again by James Coutts and others of his friends upon Colonel Evans' arrival, for then James appeared an hearty enemy to those factious practices, for which the others have always been noted, David Lloyd and some others here rendered it altogether impracticable. But this separation seemed not yet sufficient. It in no way helped to ingross the trade of the place to these men who had laboured it. Nothing would do but either to get New Castle made the seat of a small government by itself; which, how inconsiderable soever, might, notwithstanding, answer the proposed end; or else, to have it annexed to some other neighbouring Government besides Pennsylvania, the distance of whose capital from our river might leave New Castle almost as absolute in the administration, which must be committed to the principal men of that place, as if it were altogether independent; and until some such thing were brought to bear, Jasper could not think of removing. How this might be compassed was next to be considered, and carried some difficulties with it; for the Government of these Counties had for several years been regularly administered by Colonel Evans, with the Queen's approbation, which approbation those malcontents formerly pretended was all they wanted. Assemblies were held in pursuance of thy Charter; and the people, thro' a weak and unaccountable fondness they had for making laws, tho' frequently and most pressingly cautioned against it by the Governour, would not be satisfied without passing many more than are necessary for any people in America, who ought generally to be content with those of England; and in this humour of law-making none were more earnest than three of those I have named, for Jasper Yeates' great differences with J. Coutts generally kept him for some years past out of the Assembly. Seeing they themselves, therefore, had been so active in those

high points of government, it was not easy for them to move. Jasper, however, had been but very little concerned, and, therefore, first fell upon the measures to be taken, of which the first step was a perfect reconciliation between him and J. Coutts, whose quarrels had formerly been very troublesome in the Government. This was done soon after the account we had of a change designed in the administration here, which change, it was thought, might furnish a very convenient opportunity to bring on their designs; for Colonel Evans, they believed, would be very much disgusted at his being displaced; and since he had also purchased a small farm or tract of land near New Castle, it was expected he would be well pleased, rather than lose all, to fall in with this project, and by their assistance endeavour to obtain the poor Government of these Counties from the Crown to himself; and the time of election for a new Assembly very happily approaching, it of course seemed very much to favour them, if they could but unite their interests, so as to secure the choice of such men as might serve their purpose: which was, first, to find fault with the powers by which they were governed; to vote them insufficient; throw all into confusion, and then beg to be taken under her Majesty's immediate care. The same trick that some of the same men had once before played with success, in the year 1691; with all which the Governour himself falling in, of which they at first made very little doubt, they reckoned they would, as an Assembly, be able to represent the matter to the Ministry, and therefore act much the securer. At the election for New Castle no man canvassed more for J. Yeates than his late bitter adversary, and by this means he was chosen with the three others, and two more for New Castle, and R. French the same day, also for Kent, where they elected likewise by R. French's interest several others fit for their purpose, their design not being then known; but in Sussex they gained not one member, there being none present at the election to stickle for them, as Robert French did in Kent, where his estate chiefly lies.

The Assembly being met the 14th of 8br, matters were not sufficiently adjusted to enter immediately upon their project; so that two days were spent, after they were a House on other

points, until as many as they could prevail on by specious insinuations were brought in. Yet after they had proposed the matter, some more days past before they durst put the question in of the Governour's powers to the vote. At length they got nine for it against eight on the other side, which gave a majority, because one from New Castle, in R. French's place, was wanting, he choosing to stand for Kent. They then formed their address to the Governour and presented it, of which I herewith send thee a copy, with the other papers, and in it, without taking any notice of what they themselves had for several years been doing, leaped back at once to what two or three of 'em pretended they could remember by head had passed at Philadelphia in 1701. The Governour, from whom, as I have said, they hoped at first for a ready compliance, was so far from favouring their design, that he expressed an hearty indignation upon it, looking on 'em as men so inconsistent with themselves, so variable and unfixt, that he could not think them worth his regard. Yet, as he daily expected to be superseded, he thought it not convenient to differ with them or part angrily, and therefore gave the matter such a turn as he thought then best suited his circumstances, and would be most for his own ease, as thou wilt see by the copy. After this answer, those nine members, then a majority, still appearing desirous to proceed in what they had begun, and the other eight finding, or at least on very good grounds suspecting, that the principal aim of the leading men on the other side was to throw all into confusion, that so they might have a more plausible pretence to complain to the Ministry at home, and finding that they could not prevent the passing of any vote while they continued in the House, where, after the Governour's last answer to 'em, they saw they had no further business, they resolved to put an end to it by withdrawing themselves, and thereby breaking the number required to make a quorum. Accordingly, after they had waited on the Governour and asked his leave to depart, which he readily granted, they gave in their reasons in writing to the House, why they could continue no longer to sit with them, and so returned to their several dwellings.

This highly exasperated the rest, for it utterly disappointed

'em of what they before thought they were sure of, viz., to get a vote past in the House for an address home. They presently went to the Governour, complained of the rest for leaving them, tho' it was by his express consent, and craved his writ for electing another member for New Castle, which being a thing, of course was readily granted. The day of choosing came, but the people now beginning to look seriously about them, were generally so incensed, that, notwithstanding R. French, R. Halliwell, and others, used their utmost endeavours to palliate their designs, and repeatedly professed in the Green[1] that neither they, nor any of their party, designed anything against thee or thy government, with which they were very well contented; yet they were so far from being believed that they could scarce then obtain one vote in three or four, as I have been assured by some of those who were chosen inspectors. Had they gained this election, they would have had an undoubted majority on their side, but losing it, they were only equal numbers, nine against nine; and then the Speaker being of their side, and one of those nine would have been to their disadvantage if they had met any more, which therefore they have never since desired. However, since they had great reason from that last trial to despair of prevailing so far again at another election, they resolved to make the best use of their nine whilst they were called Representatives, tho', by the way, they were only so by thy Charter, which they proposed. Notwithstanding, as soon as they had passed two or three requisite votes by it entirely to lay aside, they resolved, I say, to proceed, and act as the representatives of the people in their first projected design, tho' they could not act as an Assembly; and accordingly the four I have mentioned, with the assistance, as I have been credibly informed, of their old friend I. Moore, of this place, drew up the address now to be presented, and sent it into the country, with very pressing letters, to get it signed by the rest of their number; some of whom notwithstanding, I am fully persuaded, till they saw the address itself, knew very little of what was intended, only were led on by those in whose skill they confided.

I have already largely mentioned their design in this, and

[1] [This was a space of ground kept open for public uses.—EDITOR.]

how it was at first projected by J. Yeates, with the assistance of some of the others concurring, I now beg leave to take notice what the consequences would be if those gentlemen could compass their designs, of which, notwithstanding, I believe, with so prudent and considerate a Ministry, there is but little danger, 'tis scarce to be doubted. 'Tis certain the few traders of New Castle town would find their account by it, if they could cut off all communication between the Province and those counties, which they would undoubtedly endeavour if they had a power of legislation wholly independent of the Government of Pennsilvania; whether by themselves alone, or conjunct with New York, Jersey, or Maryland, they might injure Pennsilvania, 'tis true, but at the same time, the two lower counties Kent and Sussex, with good part of New Castle, would, in all probability, be ruined by it; for instead of the advantage they now have of a large flourishing market at Philadelphia, they would be confined for their enumerated commodities, as they are called, to deal with very few men in New Castle alone; or otherwise must lie under other equivalent disadvantages, by the remoteness of their capital from this river; for Burlington, if that were the place, has very little trade, and as few men to carry it on. The planters would be oppressed, and if obliged to maintain a Government of their own, would find the burthen insupportable. For, I am sorry I have occasion to say, that by the great mortalities that for two or three years past have reigned in several places among 'em, they are exceedingly reduced, so that in the two lower counties there are not much above one hundred or six score families in each, if now so many. The greater part of New Castle county in the same condition, only the Welsh Tract settled lately from hence, and the lands between Christine and Brandywine, and thereabouts, are in somewhat better circumstances. What they could do to maintain a Government of their own, to which nevertheless, or a union with any other Government, I am well assured, the much greater part of 'em is utterly averse, I cannot now say; but this I know, that, notwithstanding they shewed the greatest alacrity to support Government at Colonel Evans' arrival, yet for the space of five years that he has presided over them they never granted him more than about

£200 of our money, or about £125 sterling, a considerable part of which was very ill paid in corn or bad tobacco. The ambition of some of these men might perhaps lead them to desire the power of Government to themselves, but when they consider the Acts of Parliament forbid all trade in Governours,[1] they would have no cause to account the grant a favour, were it to be offered; but on this head I need not, I believe, say any more.

The next thing I would take notice of is the address itself, to which I should readily undertake to give a full answer, were it possible for me to come at a sight of it; but 'tis managed with too great privacy, nor was it an effect of the least degree of vigilancy that I came to know it was finished. However, to some of those heads, of which I have heard, I shall desire to say a few words, and have done.

As to thy powers of Government in these counties, it will not become me to say anything here, being a matter better understood there, where it is to be discoursed. But to the second, where they complain they lie exposed, without defence, in this time of war, 'tis surprising that they should adventure to make that an article, when they know that all these counties are in as good a posture of defence as any of the neighbouring Colonies immediately under the Queen's Government, there being scarce a man, those of our people excepted, who are not one-fourth of the number there, but is listed, and serves as regularly as any militia whatever, and are now generally well furnished with arms, drums, and colours, by an Act of Assembly of their own making, which obliges them to it. In New Castle County they have four very good companies, and in each of the other counties they have two, which is as much as the inhabitants can well make; and these have from time to time, for some years, been duly mustered and trained. 'Tis true, there are four of their captains, viz., Captain Chavriere and Captain H. Coutts, in New Castle, Captain Rodney, a worthy good man, and now much missed in Kent, and Captain Hill, in Sussex, all lately removed by death; so that at present, by these blows of mortality, they lie under some discouragement. But since we have now an experienced soldier for our Governour, tho' 'tis certain Colonel

[1] That is, forbid Governors to be at all concerned in trade. — L.

Evans' worst enemies cannot tax him with carelessness in those points, 'tis not to be doubted but what has been wanting, if anything, will be largely made up. James Coutts himself was also for some considerable time captain of a very good company; but upon an alteration made in the Militia Act, to excuse our Friends from being fined, he took a disgust, desired to lay down his commission, which was but too soon laid hold on, and from that time he has become daily more and more disaffected; for which, I confess, I have ever been sorry.

They also had an Act for a fort at New Castle, as good as the country concerned in it could afford to build; but they overdid it, by requiring all vessels not belonging to this river, that passed by it, to pay a high tonnage, which was so insufferable an imposition on the trade of this place, whither all those vessels were generally bound, that there was a necessity to oppose it; for doubtless, tho' the Parliament of Britain think they may, yet these men can make no laws to bind us at Philadelphia, or vessels trading directly hither, without the people's concurrence; and were they directly under the Crown, more could not be done. The next article, where they complain of wanting Provincial Courts for seven years, is yet more amazing, for tho' 'tis true there have been failures of that kind, yet some of these men very well know that it has been owing to themselves, and not to the Government. Commissions for that Court have always been duly issued; and generally Jasper Yeates and Richard Halliwell, especially of late years, have been two of the number that have filled them; nor did they refuse the office. But several times, 'tis true, when it has been thought these Courts could scarce possible have failed of being held, yet by some unexpected accident, occasioned entirely by the judges themselves, they have often very strangely been put off, the design in which, tho' never once suspected before, now largely appears. But of all men, I admire that J. Coutts should join in this complaint, who has been so long sensible of the reiterated endeavours used by Richard Halliwell and Robert French to prevent the holding of any Courts at all at New Castle, when he was as zealous, on the other side, to carry 'em on. These men have for this reason been put out of commission, and have again been recommended

by the rest as fitly qualified by their experience to serve the country; and to use such men, without regard to their affection to the Government, or the contrary, has always been a standing rule with us, of which, it now appears, they have made a most ungenerous use. He needs not information of R'd Halliwell's unworthy endeavours to prevent the holding of a Court in 9br last, at New Castle; or of Rob't French's soliciting to be in the Commission for the Orphans' Court; and yet as often as it was appointed, still found a pretence to be absent to prevent its sitting; notwithstanding all which, among the very last names sent up for the Commission for Kent County, he has got himself recommended for a Justice there, where he has reason, since Captain Rodney's death, to hope he may be able to do the most considerable mischief, for in New Castle he can do no more. Such men, after they have deserted all rules of honour and justice, scarce deserve the common civil treatment due to men. I must add, however, that tho' it must be confessed these Provincial Courts have not been regularly held, yet the damage has never, that I have heard of, been great, there being but very few actions brought into 'em; and for the Pleas of the Crown, cognizable there, I have not known one instance of that kind since thy departure.

Colonel Evans designing shortly over, who for these five years past has been concerned in these affairs, he will be able, by his full knowledge of matters, as well as by his abilities in general, to set all this in a clear light, and I hope will be there early enough, since he must leave us, to speak to them. To him, therefore, I shall refer the rest, and now conclude.

Thy most faithful and obedient, J. L.

[The tenor of the foregoing letter presents a curious specimen of early political intrigue. Ambitious and designing men arise in all stages of society, and accordingly, as circumstances favour or repress their talents to do mischief, acquire celebrity, or sink into oblivion.

"Great Julius, on the mountains bred,
A flock, perhaps, or herd, had led;
He that the world subdued, had been
But the best wrestler on the green." — L.]

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, *6th 1st-mo.*, 1708–9.

Honoured Governour: — In the preceding sheets, of yesterday's date, I have informed thee fully of the address from the Lower County Assembly, and have wrote it so, as far as my straitness of time would allow me, that it might answer this design, if thou see fit to approve of it. Immediately on James Coutts' arrival, I believe it might be well if his old intimate acquaintance, thy son, should go to see him, and make such an appointment that thee and he together may shew him at once the first page of my letter, or the whole, if you think fit, tho' that, I believe, should be with caution, and rather avoided afterwards; employing the best interest that can be made, without shewing too much solicitude about the matter, endeavour to divert him from concerning himself with it. But if that will not take, perhaps there is but little in the whole letter but what may be offered to the Board of Trade, except the failures it derives from the insufficiency of the writer. However, if this should not be thought fit, as I know there may some disadvantages, to myself especially, attend it, it will notwithstanding furnish thee with a more perfect notion of the matter, and perhaps with a foundation for some particular discourse upon it, when it comes to be debated, which I heartily wish it never may by these means, for I am apprehensive it will give thee some uneasiness. But perhaps it may be for the better to speak freely. I can never think matters will be as they ought, and as becomes thy profession, till all that relates to those Lower Counties is fully adjusted and settled with the Crown. Right, in my poor opinion, should be accounted so sacred a thing that it ought never to be suffered to lie under entanglements, but be made to appear in its true light, to all to whom it concerns to consider it. Without this we shall be constantly uneasy, and thy affairs in those counties will never make so honourable an appearance as might be desired. I wish I could have seen the address, for I am told by one that did, that it is very large and, I fear, too artfully done. I wish Jno. Moore may not have had a hand in it. I believe Colonel Quarry knows nothing of the matter, for he has always, since his last arrival,

been very communicative to me in all things of the kind, as far as I could possibly judge.

I have here inclosed copies of my two last, in Stephen Golder's hand, to whom I would willingly be assistant, if my business prove not too strait and confining to him, as I doubt it will, nature or education seeming to have designed him more for the gentleman than the man of business.

I beseech thee to consider what I have wrote in these letters, and especially relating to Colonel Quarry, for I cannot be persuaded to differ with him, as matters now stand with us; besides, to do it here without occasion seems unnatural.

Ann Brown, formerly Markham, as also her mother, the widow, press me exceedingly about her father's land. He is entered everywhere a purchaser of five thousand acres, but they have no deeds to shew. The poor woman wants help for herself and three small children, and has now given me a letter to inclose to thee, I suppose, about it. I am as kind to her as I can be, in compassion to her circumstances, but query whether the land in New Castle County is not to go in part.

Matters relating to Government go hitherto easily. To-morrow the Assembly meets on their own adjournment, of which they last week gave the Governour notice. Isaac Norris has been sick all last week, otherwise would write to thee, but desires me to give his love and duty to thee. Pray think well of and befriend T. Grey. I ever found him to be honest and very faithful, and am much troubled he had no letter from me. Pray give the enclosed, concerning Rakestraw, to Geo. Whitehead, to whom he formerly, as I have heard, wrote against thee.

This printed advertisement will shew thee what I am doing.

This moment I have fortunately enough received a letter from that worthy officer, the present Sheriff[1] of New Castle, of which I have extracted part and hinted it in my foregoing. I believe it may be useful. If we had time we could easily collect enough to shew these men in their proper colours; but the best method, I believe, will be, first to endeavour to divert J. Coutts from presenting it; or next, to get the whole deferred till Colonel Evans

[1] John French. — L.

arrive, who will be able to speak fully to these matters. But as to the powers themselves, it will lie wholly upon thee. Could we possibly get a copy of the address, besides, we should be able to make a very good use of it. But 'tis scarce possible, I doubt. I have not time to add, but by next I hope to answer some other particulars of thy last letter.

Thy obedient serv't, J. L.

P. S. — Our Assembly has met on an adjournment of their own, made on 8br last, and sent a message to the Governour to inform him they were sitting, if he had anything to lay before them. He told them he should have, but was not yet prepared. Upon this they sent him another thing they called an address, in which they shew as much bitterness and virulency of temper as ever. I am sorry I have not time to send thee a copy, but what is most surprising in it, 'tis with a N. C. D. They say nothing harsh to this gentleman himself, 'tis true, but they shew a full resolution to quarrel, for which they have very carefully laid a foundation, and shewn all the rancour against the Council, &c., that they can express. I have, in all my late letters, desired thee to labour the repeal of the Act passed in 1705, for Regulating Elections. While that is in force, we shall never get a good one, and of this thy friends are very sensible. David Lloyd's party is, for number, I doubt, much the strongest, and therefore will always be able to oppose thee in Assemblies, till other methods are taken. I have frequently pressed thee to send over his original papers, the remonstrance particularly, that if possible he may be prosecuted. What thou formerly directed, of calling him to account about the Rolls, and such like, is impracticable, having no weight, if that law was repealed, and that of quit-rents confirmed; and send over those originals, with a very close expostulatory letter to Friends, upon the proceedings of the Assemblies. The country's choosing such men to expose thee and themselves, that if they will not take measures thou wilt positively give them up and struggle no longer. And now, if upon this change they have made, they do not shew a different disposition, thou wilt, in the eyes of all men, be forever excusable. David Lloyd's design is, most undoubtedly, to

throw all into confusion, and throw thee into a surrender; for he hates thee and all in thy interest, and would be glad, at any rate, to have the power of government in any other hands. Jones and Wilcox stand by him in mischievous intentions. The rest think they are faithfully discharging their duty to the country. If these things I have mentioned, viz., the repeal and remonstrance (which 'tis strange we have never had yet) . . . .[1] are before the Yearly Meeting on the 7br next. It may be possible to do some good at the next election, but not without the repeal, for that Act gives thy enemies great strength.

Be pleased to remember that the original deeds of the Lower Counties were left in Ford's hands when the mortgage was given. There is not one original here, but the Patent[2] for thy restoration, or making void Fletcher's commission. The most of my arguments here are grounded on the equity of King James' intended Patent, which being in pursuance of his contract with a subject, ought to have weight with it. As to the other points of the address, if the matter can be deferred till . . . . .[3]

Monday, March 7, between 5 and 6 o'c., 1708–9.[4]

Griffith Jones, with three more of the Assembly, came to my chamber. He said he was come to acquaint the Government that the Assembly was met, according to a late adjournment.

I told him that in other of her Majesty's Provinces the Government called on the Assembly, and asked them whether in this Province it were the custom for the Government to call the Assembly, or the Assembly the Government. One of them answered; for they were not summoned by writ as the House of Commons in England, but their Charter gave them power to

[1] [A word has been omitted. — EDITOR.]

[2] There is a beautiful duplicate of this instrument in the possession of Miers Fisher, Esq. — L.

[3] [The rest of the original is missing. — EDITOR.]

[4] [This paper is indorsed, in Logan's hand, "The Governour's Discourse with certain members of the Assembly sent to him from the House." It relates to Gov. Gookin, and appears to be in the handwriting of that gentleman. See 2 Colonial Records, 232. — EDITOR.]

meet and adjourn. I asked whether they had power to meet and adjourn whenever they were pleased? They answered they had, and according to that power they met and were come to acquaint me with it, and to know if I had anything to offer to them. I told them, as I was a stranger to the Constitution of the Provinces, I had nothing then to say against their Charter; that I had some things to propose to them for her Majesty's service and their interest; and that I had no instructions from the Proprietor but what was for the general good of the people; and assured them I had all imaginable inclinations to serve them to the best of my ability; and as I had no design but what would answer the character of an honest man, so I did not doubt but that everything that could be called fair might be expected from them. They answered there was no fear but they should agree with the Government, and desired to know if I had anything to propose to them. I answered I had, but I was yet unacquainted with the methods of the Province; that I must take some time to consider so weighty an affair, and when I was ready I would let them know it. One of them asked if I could be ready in two or three days. I told them the business required more time, and that I should call on them in a regular and legal manner.

William Penn to James Logan.

Reading, 12*th* 1*st-mo.*, 1708–9.

Loving Friend: — Thine is come, of the 22d of 9br, by way of Jamaica, and I hereby advise and order thee to answer the bills payable to Charles Jones, Is. Jennings, Rob't Fræme, and Rob't Raines, which the friends omitted to give me, or thou hadst received. The same advice and order, as the rest, had for Commissioners of Property, such must be for the raising the monies requisite by sale of land, as well as by rents and credits of mine there. But I entreat thee to have a care that I am not foreclosed by any partialities, of losing the best parts of manours, and parts of the best and choicest tracts of the country. But rather endeavour to get me, as thou promises by thine, what is standing out of mine in the tenants hands; for when peace

comes, planters will increase and lands grow very valuable, and that is at hand. My last, per Maurice Lisle, shews thee how I disappointed Lord Baltimore's unmannerly design, and the use that may be made of it to bow spirits, anything grateful, and the bounds will follow. For the laws, they are not yet passed; frequent changes of the Queen's Council at Law has somewhat retarded it, as also my limited circumstances, but shall follow per first. Only I do abhor the new affirmation carried here, and then there, by absolute faction, and if I can, I will waive it; for I would rather Friends were never in power, so our old affirmations were confirmed for Friends and others scrupulous, and oaths for the rest; unless a short way of bonds penalty for truth, of what is said, were made practicable and acceptable, as I have often thought might be. For the Lower Counties, the present Deputy-Governour has the same powers the other had, and I will make those unruly fellows tamer to me, and my interest, in a while, I hope. Let them be ruled without vexatious Assemblies, and follow the laws of England, for that is the least danger to him, and the best bridle to the shameless and base crew. I know not what thou meanest by Stockton. Has that unhappy German, that married our good Dorothy, paid thee what he borrowed of me here? I have writ, by Short, a shipwright, via *Bristol*, that has just sailed, and have, I think, writ enough since thy complaints of silence. Enough now, with love to thyself and friends, and magistrates, also Colonels Gookin and Evans, I close.

Thy real friend, WM. PENN.

Yesterday I had thy letters, not before.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

16th 1st-mo., 1708–9.

HONOURED GOVERNOUR: — Being informed that there is some probability of this post, just now upon going, may reach the Massachusetts fleet, I am willing to venture a few lines to advise thee, that by the brigantine *Burlington*, Captain Barton commander, who sailed hence about ten days ago, directly for Lon-

don, I acquainted thee at large with an address sent home by James Coutts, by some in the Lower Counties, to the Lords of Trade, to gain the government of those counties out of thy hands, by James Coutts himself. I also sent a duplicate, made up in thy good friend Thomas Master's pacquet, directed to Thomas Lloyd, to avoid Coutt's suspicion. Colonel Evans, from New Castle, has also by the same brigantine informed thee of some further particulars of the matter, which are principally these:

That James Coutts has been so weak, just before his going off, as to say to some of his friends that if two or three hundred guineas would purchase that Government to himself, they should not be wanting, for he is resolved to employ all the interest he can derive from the address to his own. This has now taken air, and the addressers themselves are so alarmed at the very apprehension of it, that their behaviour and expressions upon it render them justly ridiculous. Halliwell, upon the first notice of it, came hastily to Colonel Evans and besought of him to accept of it for himself, and they would employ the utmost of their interest in his behalf, and talked as if they had the disposal of it almost in their own hands, without asking the Queen, Lords, or any other. They fret and storm at the thought of what they have done, and vainly, as if their application alone were sufficient to give the fiat itself; frighten themselves with the very image of that gentleman's insupportable haughtiness and tyrannical temper, as if he were already mounted and issuing his imperious dictates. Those men, by these means, shew more fully what they are, and both they and their attempts deserve little more than scorn. However, since this will certainly bring the whole affair of those counties under consideration, it may be well to fortify thyself to the utmost, for what I write is real, and no blind surmise or suspicion.

Pray endeavour, if thou canst, to sell lands there to the value of £5,000 sterling, to make thyself easy and thy estate clear, in time. Colonel Quarry hopes Charles Wager will be very willing to help thee upon easy terms to such a sum. I wish it could be done. I beseech thee get the law for elections repealed, and that for quit-rents confirmed. Thou hadst better give a hundred guineas than either lose the last or be tied to the other.

I cannot add but that I am, &c. J. L.

I mention the £5,000, because thou wert formerly pleased to acquaint me that such an offer had been made thee by some foreigners. Pray guard against Mitchel's projects, for I doubt they may prove injurious.

Another letter, dated in the 2d-month [1709], recapitulates what is said in this. It does not appear that the malcontents in the Lower Counties had any expectation that they could affect William Penn's Proprietary right, but that Coutts expected that by the aid of bribery he might obtain the Government of them. — L.

So much, says James Logan, has his ambition and most arrogant spirit blinded him, I cannot believe him capable of doing himself much good, tho' the Scotch are generally warm canvassers, and adhere closely to each other. That ever he should obtain it is improbable; but if he should, the tyranny and haughtiness of that man's temper would soon be a means of thinning those counties to a degree that the propriety of them would scarce be worth asking, and Philadelphia would be extremely unhappy. The present Governour seems not very well pleased with his change, meeting with so much fraud, self-interest and faction, under imposing appearances. Since the repeal of the Property Act, the people refuse to purchase one acre of their overplus, claiming all within their lines. But of this I design to be larger. J. Sotcher is still at Pennsbury, R. Asheton, Recorder of Philadelphia, Is. Norris,[1] S. Preston, and Captain Anthony Palmer, are of the Council. . . . . .

[1] The last two gentlemen were at this time recently called to the Council. Samuel Preston was from Patuxent, in Maryland; had married one of the daughters of Thomas Lloyd, and settled in Philadelphia, where he filled with reputation several offices of importance in the Government, and lived to an advanced age. He was a man of good understanding, of a pleasant, facetious disposition, and the strictest integrity. He left no sons. One of his daughters married Dr. Moore, of Maryland, and the other a son of Samuel Carpenter. Captain Anthony Palmer had emigrated about this period from the West Indies. He was wealthy, and lived in a style suitable to his circumstances, keeping his coach, then a great luxury, and pleasure barge, for he resided on the bank of the river, at Kensington, in a house which he built there. He is said to have had twenty-one children by his first wife, all of whom died of consumption. The bells of Christ Church

James Logan to John Read.

[*March,*] 1708–9.

Friend John Read: — Tho' a stranger to thee in person, I hope from the business I am concerned in, which is the care of Governour Penn's affairs in this and your Province, I may take the freedom thus to address thee, and inform thee that the said Governour, when last in this country, sold to Richard Stockton the greater part of a tract of land lying on Stony Brook,[1] in the East division of Jersey, laid out to him formerly, as I am informed, by thee, for 5,500 acres, of which tract we, his attorney, have lately sold Richard the remainder. We find there has happened some mistake, either in the survey or record, of which the present owner, by whom I give thee this trouble, is most capable to apprise thee. I therefore request thee to favour us, so far as by the most proper means are to be taken, to get that survey rectified, for which the said owner will be ready to content thee, and thou wilt further lay an obligation on,

Thy well-wishing friend, tho' unknown, J. L.

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were first rung at the funeral of his wife, and the unskilfulness of the ringer caused an accident which terminated his own life. There are some of his descendants, by a second marriage, now living, respectable inhabitants of Philadelphia. Upon the resignation of Governour Thomas, in 1747, he was chosen President of the Council, and exercised the office of Chief Magistrate of Pennsylvania until the arrival of James Hamilton as Governour in the ensuing year. — L.

[1] [Upon a portion of the territory comprised within the bounds of this patent, the town of Princeton was afterwards built, and upon the banks of *Stony Brook* the battle of Princeton, between the British and American forces, was fought on the 3d of January, 1777. Some of the land embraced in the original survey is still, we believe, in possession of the lineal descendants of the patentee — Editor.]

1709.

James Logan to William Penn.

Philadelphia, 11*th* 3*rd mo.*, 1709.

Honoured Governour:—I have, by several conveyances this Spring, informed thee of James Coutts' design to solicit for the government of the Lower Counties, and have hinted that by the first good opportunity, which I expected would be by the men-of-war from York, I intended to write fully my thoughts of thy affairs here; but being now informed that the ships are ordered upon another expedition, which, if it prove true, will, I fear, give these parts great trouble, I shall here give thee a short account of what I think may at present chiefly concern thee to know from us.

About a week ago the Lord Lovelace died of an asthma, at York, to the great grief of the two Provinces under his charge, and I believe no less to our loss.[1] Our present Assembly shews the very same temper they have done for near these three years past, so that no good is to be expected of them.

Last Seventh-day a privateer ship of 160 men landed about half their number at the Hoarkill, and miserably plundered the place, shot one man, and carried several of the principal off to be ransomed.[2]

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[1] [John Lord Lovelace, who died Governour of New York in 1709, was the son of William, who was the son of Colonel Francis Lovelace, who was the second son of Sir Richard, the first Baron Lovelace. Colonel Lovelace, the grandfather of John Lord Lovelace, "was appointed Governour of New York in 1668, and administered its affairs with moderation and to the satisfaction of all classes, until 30 July, 1673. He was active in settling the County of Ulster, where he laid out the town of Hurley, so called after his ancestral seat in Berkshire, England, and originally owned a large farm on Staten Island, part of which is at present occupied by Quarantine ground." See note by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, Editor of "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York," in 2d volume of "Documents, &c.," p. 580. Also, Nicolas' Peerage of England, title "Lovelace." — Editor.]

[2] The following extracts are from letters of I. Norris on this affair.—L.

"Last Seventh-day morning early landed about 60 French from a ship of about 160 men, at Lewes, *alias* Hoarkills, and plundered the

This puts us under a very great consternation, especially because the captain, one Cross, and several of his men that were on shore, have formerly been well acquainted with this river. We have had no militia here since the false alarm, and how any will be now obtained is not very easy to imagine, especially since the Assembly, upon the late Governour's most warm application to them, last Summer, when in such visible danger from an enemy almost continually at our capes, so unaccountably trifled with the matter and threw the whole defence of the place upon the Lord High Admiral by sea, and the Queen by land. Nor can anything else be expected of them. Under the present Constitution, they can enact no law for arming of men, nor raise money for that purpose. Nor is it possible to unite them again with the Lower Counties, according to thy instructions to the Lieutenant-Governour, for reasons I have given thee, viz., because all their power of Government is derived from the King's Charter, in which these Counties are not comprehended; and while separate, Friends will always be by far the majority. In what difficulties we are by these means engaged, may easily be conceived by any that will, without bias, consider our case. Those who differ from us in persuasion, as one half of Philadelphia does, are full of complaints, and Friends so uneasy under them, that I question whether many further endeavours will be

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town to the most trifling articles; took four men, viz., Jon. Bayley, Samuel Rowland, one Bedwell, and another, for ransom, and, 'tis said, have ransomed for Indian corn and sheep. William Clark was also kept on board. This alarms us, and some people will have it that they will come up here. Their force is magnified, and great reflections on Friends."

"We have a rumour of a fleet making up in the West Indies for this continent, which gives uneasiness in general, but more especially to those Friends concerned in Government—the church party complaining heavily, and rudely and scandalously threatening they would as soon shoot us as a Frenchman. This will drive things to extremes, and with another unhappiness just now nicking, viz., a demand of a hundred and fifty men as a quota for this Province, on an expedition, will undoubtedly give a severe shock to our Proprietor's Government, if not wrest it out of his hands, without such terms as 'tis probable he might make for us on a surrender."

[These facts are related in almost similar terms in a letter of Norris under date of June 3, 1709, which see, at p. 347.—EDITOR.]

used, as heretofore, to prevent their application home. For their arguments to shew the absurdity of pretending to Government, without applying force in the greatest, as well as the least degree, where necessary to defend the subject, in their lives and property, cannot possibly be answered to their satisfaction. That a private murderer or robber should be taken and hanged, and yet public ones should be suffered to proceed without any resistance, is made the subject of so much banter and scorn, that 'tis very uneasy to those concerned, and to tell them that they are free to fight themselves if they please. The Governour, who has power, does not only not hinder, but encourages them to it, avails nothing; for they plead the unreasonableness of their being, both at all hazard and expense, in defending what others are at least as deeply concerned in. They want, in short, a law for a militia, which shall oblige all to serve that can, and those that cannot to contribute a due proportion of the expense. Our sufferings last year, and those we are now deeply threatened with, give us great uneasiness; for 'tis generally apprehended that the enemy, who is so strong in these parts, will not always suffer a place that makes so great a noise in the world for trade, and an opinion, but a false one, of wealth, to remain unvisited; a place so able to supply them with provisions, when so small a force is capable of mastering it, which they know as well as we.

This account, I am sensible, will not prove agreeable; but the importance of it makes it necessary to be duly considered; and for my own part, I cannot but freely join in sentiments with those of the best thought here, among thy friends, that it would be much better for us to be entirely eased from the burthen, upon any reasonable terms, for after thy own time, what can be expected so advantageous as what might be obtained upon a surrender, managed by thyself. The business of the Lower Counties will perhaps awaken these thoughts yet more. Yet we all hope that imperious piece of tyranny, J. Coutts, will be disappointed. But whenever thou thinks of it, Colonel Gookin should be considered, for he believes himself a loser. Pray advise about thy bills to him.

Postscript.

12th 3d-mo., [1709.]

Since writing the foregoing, the post has brought the Queen's letter, requiring the Governour to obey the orders of Colonel Vetch,[1] in all things relating to the expedition against the French in Canada, &c., as if they were under her own hand, but refers to instructions by which he is to be governed. Colonel Nicholson is his assistant, and by a letter from both these, we find the quota of men to be raised in this Government is 150, which are expected to be furnished out without any delay, to be in readiness against the arrival of the other men-of-war, which are to be ten in all, with twenty transports, and five regiments of regular troops. New England must supply 1,000, York 500 men, and others proportionably. How impracticable this is with us, thou may easily perceive. The Assembly must be immediately called, and they can do no other than give a flat denial, or what will be tantamount; the consequences which, at home, will, in conjunction with other articles against us, be too heavy, I fear, to ward off, and oblige the Queen to take the Government into her own hands, without any terms, if thou canst not make them before it comes to that extremity. But pray get the law for quit-rents confirmed for thy own interest. This early notice may be of advantage to thee, for if the business of the Lower Counties is on foot, if J. Coutts proceed in it, knowing what is to follow, may give a good occasion to come in upon a treaty for the whole, before the other more pressing complaints arrive.

I am, as before, &c., &c.

ISAAC NORRIS TO BENJAMIN COOLE.

PHILADELPHIA, *24th May*, 1709.

DEAR FRIEND, BENJ. COOLE: — As for land or houses, 'tis a good time to purchase. People here are so alarmed with the

[1] [COLONEL SAMUEL VETCH — spelt also Veche, Veitch, &c. For an account of him, see references in the Index to "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York." — EDITOR.]

French, and their designs, that they will sell for half or two-thirds value. I note what thou writes about the Proprietor's affair with the Fords, that 'tis done, and how, which is the first certain account we have thereof. Many here are glad of it, tho' I believe some would be pleased to have him always embarrassed. Thou mentions the death of worthy Thomas Cuppage. We had it some days before, with a rumour that he had given Governour Penn considerable; but thou not mentioning it, I give it the less heed. I am truly sorry for the loss of that man. I took him for a generous, frank, as well as honest and true man in his principles, and he has shown a true friendship to that family. We have a rumour of a fleet making up in the West Indies for this continent. Gives uneasiness in general, but more especially to those Friends concerned in Government; the Church party complaining heavily, and some rudely and scandalously threatening they would as soon shoot us as a Frenchman. This will drive things to extremes, and with another unhappiness just now occurring, viz., a demand of 150 men as a quota for this Province, on an expedition, will undoubtedly give us a severe stroke to our Proprietor's Government, if not wrest it out of his hands, without such terms as 'tis probable he might make for us on a surrender. Thou knows what discourse we have had, and my opinion on this head, and thy mentioning keeping the true line, tho' no *jure divino nolen* gives me this liberty with thee, knowing thee his friend; and I wish all such would join on your side to advise and press him in this case. He will give any of us the hearing of a great deal of this kind, but I wish the successors were alike to him.

I conclude, thy affectionate friend, Is. Norris.

Isaac Norris to Henry Goldney.

June 3d, 1709.[1]

My Dear Friend, Henry Goldney: — Since my last of the 7th 2d-mo., I found thine of the 24th 3d-mo. Thy actions and

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.]

kind expressions of love are of a piece. I have been very sensible of the first, and have reason to believe thy frank and generous kindness remains, as well as tender love. I hope we shall always remember and adore that Hand which has preserved us in that our hazardous undertaking. We have now a full account of the Proprietor's ending with the Fords, and the death of that good instrument in it, Thomas Cuppage. Almost everything we enjoy has somewhat to palliate it. Now that we seem easy in that case, other troubles arise, and divers things concur to give us melancholy prospect of affairs.

On the 7th ultimo, a French privateer of about 90 or 100 hands landed at Lewes, a town near the cape, and plundered it.[1] This, with some noise of a fleet making up in the West Indies against us, extremely alarms the people, and very much damps and hinders trade. This makes any post of Government very uneasy to Friends, and those of other persuasions, especially of the Church, very clamorous; some threatening to shoot us sooner than the enemy, in case of an attack; others arguing strongly that the end of the Government is the preservation of the whole, that they see no difference between punishing a private and a public robber, one or many. And to nick this, comes, per Colonel Veach, the Queen's order for this Province to raise 150 men, or near £4,000, to pay such a quota for this Canada expedition. Our Assembly is called, and yesterday the Governour laid the Queen's commands before them. What they will do, I can't tell, and our adversaries wait the event. The argument in this case is, that our friends in England pay all taxes, and never scruple that which is expressly declared to be for carrying on a vigorous war against France. I must shorten, and only observe that these things will certainly give the Government a severe jostle, if not quite cost it, and therefore revive my former opinion, "*Make hay while the sun shines.*" Let the Proprietor surrender on terms for us and him while it is in his power, if it

[1] [In what motive the forbearance to lay *Philadelphia* under contribution, an affair of easy accomplishment, had its origin, whether from respect to the peaceful principles of the founder, or in instruction from home not to push matters to extremity, it is perhaps impossible now to determine. — EDITOR.]

be yet so. Press it, as a friend to him and us, and let this honest gentleman, Colonel Gookin, be remembered by him, who I fear will be shocked in his good intentions toward us, if these things continue, and the troubles within ourselves.

Thy real friend, Is. Norris.

James Logan to William Penn.

9th 4th-mo., 1709.

Honoured Governour:—Last week, by the same opportunity, I gave thee a short account of our proceedings here in relation to the expedition in hand, to which I shall add what occurred yesterday. After the Friends of the Council, who first conferred with others of most note in the place, had, in a meeting with those in the Assembly the day before, given it unanimously as their opinion that without violating our principles, the country might and ought to present to the Queen a sum of money to be employed as she shall think fit, the House returned their answer to the Governour that they had voted £500 to the Queen; but this is so very small a sum that it is not thought fit to be accepted of, unless they will make it a great deal more, to which they have now been very earnestly pressed. Those of other persuasions are forming an address home, that better provision may be made for this place in particular, which it will be in vain to oppose. If nothing be done, we shall be in great confusion here, being, for the reasons I have mentioned, in no better circumstances in the Government than ever heretofore. If the Assembly can be brought to do anything to purpose, and to raise money to be put into the Lieutenant-Governour's hands, to be employed as the exigencies of this Government may require, we may, but not otherwise, be in a better condition. But we can make no better conjectures, as yet, of what may be expected. My own difficulties are so great that unless our affairs put on another face, I shall be obliged in the fall to make a trip home, of which I desire thy approbation. As soon as we have ended with the Assembly, I shall give thee by the very first [opportunity] an account of

their proceedings. We all wish thou couldst make thyself and us more easy.

I am thy most obedient, J. L.

P. S. — All the other Governments have not only fully complied with the Queen's orders, but outdone them, except Jersey, who have not levied their men, but granted £3,000 in lieu of them. Those of other persuasions here heartily desire we may do nothing, that the Government may on this occasion be forced out of the hands of those that have it, and be put into others that they think more fit for it. We have complied with the Act of Parliament for regulating our money, but in New York they have not, and I think not at Boston.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN.

PHILADELPHIA, 14*th* 4*th-mo.*, 1709.

HONOURED GOVERNOUR: — To my surprise, I have been just now told that the bearer, Caspar Hood, is in a few minutes to depart for Maryland, in order to embark for England, who, should he leave this place without one line from me, might not only take it unkind, but it might, perhaps, be thought more strange there that I should omit such an opportunity; therefore, till I am called on, shall go on with a few lines.

By the men-of-war from New York, I have briefly hinted to thee the heads of such affairs as have mostly employed our thoughts of late. The town of Lewes having been plundered the 7th of last month by a French privateer, and divers others of the enemy having been seen on the coast, which has been much infested, has exceedingly alarmed the country, beyond what could easily be imagined from no more pressing a danger. But so it has been, as the bearer can much more particularly relate. This through those who are always calling for a defence, under the greatest uneasiness, and has put them upon forming an address to the Queen, or Lords, which I believe no endeavours here will be sufficient to prevent. Friends are so tired out with the clamours and abuses of these men, that the thoughts

of Government become very uncomfortable to tnem; and what heightens their uneasiness is the indignation of others at the Assembly's refusal to do anything in obedience to the Queen's commands towards the expedition against Canada, which I have several times mentioned. Boston and Connecticut have far outdone what was required of them; Rhode Island the same, and York has, at least, come up to, if not exceeded, their proportion. Jersey voted £3,000. They voted the bill for it twice; ordered it to be engrossed, but before the third reading their minds, it seems, altered, 'tis said upon some advices from hence, and then they entirely rejected it. The majority there are Friends, and at first they voted it only to be given to the Queen, which all the Friends in Council, and the generality, I think all, the Friends of the ministry here not only thought, but freely gave their opinion to the Assembly, that it might be safely done, without breaking in upon their principles. But all that could be obtained from ours was to vote £500 to the Queen; but lest it should be employed in that service,—tho' the buying of provisions to send to Boston, was all the Governour at length proposed to do with it,—they deferred it till August, to which time they adjourned themselves, directly in opposition to the Governour's commands. He must, of necessity, answer the Queen's letter to him, which is exceedingly positive in this business, and for his answer must send a copy of the Assembly's proceedings, which I am sure will be of no service to thee, this place, or Friends of any other.

Baltimore's struggle for all the Lower Counties, their address by James Coutts concerning their Government, and this, all coming on the back of one another, will, I doubt, be too hard for thee to bear up against. But why shouldst thou contend for those who so little regard thee, or consider anything further than thy own just interest, and the ease of such of thy Friends here who really deserve the title, as there are still a great many such, is what neither I nor they can easily understand. If Friends, after such a profession of denying the world, living out of it, and acting in opposition to its depraved ways, to which they have borne a testimony, by the most distinguishing characters from any other people, cannot be satisfied, but must involve them-

selves in affairs of Government, under another power and administration, which administration in many of its necessary points is altogether inconsistent with this profession — I say, if this be the case, I cannot see why it should not be accounted singularly just in Providence to deal to their portion crosses, vexation, and disappointments, to convince them of their mistakes and inconsistency. I write freely as I think, and as I have often of late been obliged to express myself, tho' thou well knows I am no very strict pretender that way.

The settlement made, upon the advance of the money paid the Fords, making a great alteration in the affairs of property here, the Commissioners cannot well proceed by any powers they now have. I have received a letter from Thomas Callowhill and others, of Bristol, informing me that thou hast made over to them, and others of London and Ireland, not only the Province, but all thy debts of whatever kind here, and therefore they desire me to get in all I can, and have it ready for their further orders. And this was done, I perceive, before any one of thy bills was either paid or due. Yet thou assigned all the bonds that were to discharge those very draughts, and others since drawn by thee, to Colonel Gookin, &c. Upon this I cannot but reflect upon the dangers I exposed myself to, tho' unwittingly, from which, through the good providence of God, I am now, with thee and thine, happily relieved, but must from thence take a caution for the future. However, I have adventured to pay the bills, at least the greatest part of them, and hope I shall be able to justify it, but must think it unsafe to proceed much further until I have an opportunity of seeing thee, which because I fear the troubles I have already mentioned will not allow here, I think this fall to make a trip over without waiting for further advice. I have many things to induce me to this besides what I have here hinted, and particularly that 'tis impossible for me to be easy, or any way to enjoy myself, under such a load of confusion as oppresses me in matters of Government. I resolved to be patient and sit quiet till the late threatening storm blew over; but since I have no prospect of a security under this Constitution, as now modelled, I must endeavour to breathe liberty again, and taste freedom once more. I hope my voyage may prove of service to thee, as I

fully design it, as far as it may lie in my power; for perhaps my presence there may not be amiss, if it should prove according to the expectation of most here, that the Parliament, who now so narrowly scan all public affairs, should inquire next winter into the management of this expedition, and the reasons of our failure, which inquiry, it is feared, will prove very little to our advantage, when helped forward by the remonstrances and complaints that in all probability will attend it from Colonel Vetch, Colonel Nicholson, and many others. How great an unhappiness, do I often think, that this complication of difficulties should occur now in what we here generally hope the last, or near the last, year of the war! I wish thou mayst be able to secure thyself. But if any surrender should be made, and a new Council thought of, which is not very probable, before I arrive, it may not be amiss to give thee a list of the present, because I find Oldmixon,[1] in his account of this place, has been very much misinformed.

Divers things, which I ought to take notice of to thee, may, I believe, be better omitted till I am personally there, only I know not what to do with Colonel Evans. I have largely discoursed him, not only by himself, but in company with some of thy best friends, chosen for that purpose, and he affirms that, notwithstanding he has seldom spent a penny he could handsomely spare, he shall scarce have enough to carry him off after his debts here are paid, and that he never either sent off or remitted, directly or indirectly, since he arrived, £50 sterling in all. That story of his getting by the mines I believe to be a very fiction. Colonel Gookin thinks he has great cause to be uneasy at his change, and fears that unless some provision be made for him, that he shall be a greater loser than his fortunes, now in his advanced years, will by any means allow of or bear. Time will not allow me to add, but that I am, &c., J. L.

Pray take this, as 'tis wrote with a flying pen, and without copy.

[1] ["The British Empire in America, containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress, and Present State of all the British Colonies on the Continent and Islands of America." By John Oldmixon: London, 1708. — EDITOR.]

List of the Council: Edward Shippen, S. Carpenter, Joseph Growdon, T. Story, G. Owen, S. Finney, C. Pusey, J. Yeates, W. Trent, Richard Hill, George Roach, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, Anthony Palmer, James Logan.

William Penn to James Logan.

London, *26th 4th-mo.*, 1709.

This tells thee I have thine of the 12th (16th) 1st-month, and shall act correspondently. Pray labour to answer Friends, and W. A. (William Aubrey) with an agreeable speed. Herewith comes the Palatines, whom use with tenderness and love, and fix them so that they may send over an agreeable character; for they are a sober people, divers Mennonists, and will neither swear nor fight. See that Guy has used them well.

Oh, whatever thou dost, let my poor daughter have some money, for great is the cry of William Aubrey and old Norton against Pennsylvania paymasters. I will pay no more interest to W. Aubrey, if thou canst make pay to his attorney's there. But whatever thou dost, let me not be dishonoured in that affair, because my poor child's portion. But for her he would go over. But her regards for the country are at a low ebb, which is my trouble.

I have had an hearing before the Queen and Council against Lord Baltimore, who drew it upon me, in which I have my old order of 13 9br, 1685, in all its parts and points ratified and confirmed, which has laid those walking ghosts. Can my wicked enemies yet bow? They shall, or break and be broken to pieces, before a year from this date comes about, and my true friends rejoice. Mind most carefully all my directions by Colonel Gookin, from whom I have had three letters, and told T. Davis the contents, as he desired me, and have since writ you of both. I am easier than before, now Baltimore's business is dismissed, and my old claims confirmed, and may be fuller per next. Pray get Daniel Pegg's, or such a remote place, in good order for me and my family by the first day of next 4th-month,

if the Lord permit, or sooner. Let Pennsbury be put in inhabitable order, with the gardens, that we may subsist in good measure upon it; for a spare food and living suit both me and mine. Vale. With love to Governour, Friends, and good people, I rest,

Thy loving friend, WM. PENN.

S. C., I. N., R. H., Ed. Sh., G. O., T. S., C. P., R. Ellis, N. Stansbury, and others, salute for me.

ISAAC NORRIS TO THOMAS ELLWOOD.

PHILADELPHIA, *26th August*, 1709.[1]

WORTHY FRIEND, THOMAS ELLWOOD: — Thou wilt excuse me, notwithstanding our slender acquaintance, in this address. First, the hearty and pleasant entertainment at thy *English Pennsylvania* engages it, since I remember that journey among the satisfactions of my whole voyage. Next the observation I made of thy hearty friendship for our deceased friend, Samuel Jennings,[2] obliges me to give thee some account, tho', perhaps, short of what thou may have received from others.

I got home, now within a few days of a twelvemonth since, and soon had the account of the state of that family, to my great concern. Ann had been buried some months before, and Samuel lay very ill. I went to Burlington the next day after my arrival to see him, and found him in a weak condition. I could never

[1] I shall make no apology for introducing the above letter into this work, tho' it does not belong to the correspondence from whence these selections are made, authentic notices of the persons, who acted conspicuous parts in the infancy of these States, appearing to me to merit preservation. — L.

[2] "Samuel Jennings, the first Deputy-Governour of West Jersey, was a man of literature and good abilities; a valuable and highly esteemed preacher in the Society of Friends till his death, and long an excellent magistrate, both in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He lived many years; was well-beloved, and is said to have written well in defence of Friends, in the affair of George Keith, &c. He left three daughters who intermarried with three brothers of the name of Stephenson. He was from Bucks, in England."

The above is a note to this letter, by I. P. Norris. — L.

well learn his distemper, but that 'twas a general disposition, or ill habit of body, what the doctors call a cachexy; his belly and legs swelled as a dropsy; almost a constant fever; his countenance sunk, and a cough, as a consumption; and all these violent attacks, with want of sleep, had affected his brain. Yet when he saw me he collected himself, and held for a considerable time a very sensible discourse: inquisitive after his friends and acquaintance in England, and in a particular manner for thee. I had sent him thy letter the day before. He was revived at the remembrance of you, and then desired that some friend would write to you for him, Griffith Owen being by, who, or Thomas Story, I presume, has done it. He then expressed his great love to Friends, and steadfastness to truth, resignation to and satisfaction in the will of God, as he always did in his clearest intervals; but seemed very sensible of the use his enemies would make of his affliction, and the weak, tho' never faulty expressions that sometimes dropped from him in his distemper, for in the height of that complex of maladies, he would sometimes fall into bemoanings and tears, and be as a child. Thus he continued about five months after, sometimes giving us faint hopes, but was in the main under a continual and progressive decay, which at last conquered. He was of a strong constitution, and thou knowest of a cheerful disposition, which occasioned a long siege, but he at last rested, I doubt not at all, in the Lord. We have in general a very great loss; but Burlington does and will extremely miss him. I never saw his will, but understand he remembered thee therein.

We are not without some trouble in these parts among ourselves, from restless and uneasy tempers; and abroad, enemies on our coasts robbing and doing mischief. This occasions bitter reflections, and great contumelies against Friends and their principles, and if it should please the Almighty to permit an attack upon this place, as has been this Summer on the town of Lewes, near the Cape, we have reason to fear as much evil from some among ourselves as the enemy. . . . . .

I am in much love and due respect,

Thy real friend, Is. Norris.

James Logan to William Penn.[1]

Philadelphia, *29th 6th*, 1709.

Honoured Governour: — The enclosed copy to H. Goldney, &c., containing most that I have to say in relation to matters of property. I send it transcribed to prevent the trouble of a repetition of the same things to thyself; and what else I have to say upon these heads, I shall refer till I have the happiness of seeing those which I now most passionately long for.

As to affairs of Government, I am sorry that I cannot give thee a better account of them. We have still the same kind of Assembly as formerly, tho' sometimes they appear a little more pliable. They have voted £200 of the new currency for the Governour, and £300 to answer the occasions of the Government, besides £500 to the Queen, in lieu of the quota of men they were required to raise for the intended expedition against Canada; which, since the unhappy blow in Portugal, is feared must of necessity miscarry, if the forces designed hither be diverted, as it is supposed, that way.

But the Assembly making demands in other points that can hardly be conceded to, 'tis much to be doubted whether any of those supplies will be obtained. The first two, I mean: for the last, I know not what to think.

Since the war, as we judge here, is likely to continue, we fear the application of the Lower Counties, by Ja. Coutts, and the address of those of other persuasions here for a defence, will prove too difficult for thee to ward against; and indeed the dangers we are likely to be exposed to, both by sea and land, from the enemy, exasperated by this intended attack, make most here, with that Friends during the war were discharged from all concerns in Government that may involve them or their profession . . . . .

I shall endeavour to settle my business the best I can before I leave this place, for which I expect not now to have about £203, ...[2] weeks, at farthest; but many will be left so imperfect

[1] [We are indebted for this letter to the kindness of Mr. Isaac Norris. — Editor.]

[2] [Blank in copy. — Editor.]

that they will require my hand again, if it please God to give me life, tho' I could wish I were able to finish all, whatever accident may happen.

The intended expedition will cost the Provinces concerned in it at least £70,000 or £80,000, which, with their already incumbent debts, will press them severely.

Had we a repeal of the Law for Elections, we might have some hopes this next first of 8th-month of a better set of Representatives. But without it, there is little alteration to be expected. I have often mentioned it, but if obtained it will scarce come in time.

The address to the Queen from this place is promoted by most, if not all, the members of Council who are not Friends, and I hear that Edward Shippen, junior, signed without distinction to pass for his father, and Joseph Carpenter's son, named Samuel, signed in the same manner, to pass for his uncle; not through any dissatisfaction to thee in general, but to the belief of a necessity of other measures for the security of their estates.

Colonel Quarry in this matter, I believe, he will be very plain, and not friendly to thee. I have always been against entering into a broil with him here, but it would be very perplexing to us, so long as he continues in his present station, in thy point of defence. I believe he will be very pressing.

Pray endeavour to get the Law of Quit-Rents approved by the Queen. I design to set out from here to Maryland, about three weeks hence, in order to embarque for England, and therefore shall add no more here, but that,

I am thy most obedient servant, J. L.

Per Captain Young, in the *Mary* Galley.

Isaac Norris to John Pemberton.

Philadelphia, *1st 7br*, 1709.[1]

John Pemberton, and Kind Friend: — I hope this will find thee in a good melancholy humour, — I matter not whether in

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.]

the terrace-walk, stone-entry, or Coz. Judith scratching thy head. I have reason to believe thou loves us well enough to be diverted at present with the account this brings of our good health, and I wish I could find some way to make it more lasting. I almost wished for thee in our passage, thou lives so easy and at pleasure, meets little or nothing to ruffle thee; so thy mind, being always on a level, the humours of the body too much prevail thereupon. I fancied the amusements we met with would have been physic; a sudden gust, a stamping on the deck, crying, "all hands aloft," or a sail chasing, would have been good at the critical melancholy minutes. But, to be more serious, I heartily wish thee health and pleasure. Thou art circumstanced to sweeten the sourest parts of life. I would have thee to bend to it, and be happy. I remember all thy kindness and affection gratefully, and we are under lasting obligations. We are all well, save sister Hill, and she on the recovery. I have wrote Coz., thy good wife, so need add no more, but that I am, in much love,

Thy affectionate kinsman, Is. Norris.

Dear love to Tom, and Becky, and all friends.

James Logan to William Penn.

17*th* 7*th*, 1709.[1]

Honoured Governour: — By the same fleet in which this goes, I expected not many days ago, to have come myself; but it proves a little too quick for my affairs, and I now design by way of Lisbon directly from this river, for which port several vessels are loading here this fall, and among the rest, a very good new ship, built by Isaac Norris, in whose bottom and cargo the Proprietary will be concerned one-eighth, to the value of about £300 sterling here, of which I now acquaint thee.

I have nothing new at present to inform thee of. Our Assembly has finished nothing. 'Tis our Yearly Meeting time, and

[1] [We are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Isaac Norris for a copy of this letter. — Editor.]

the next election draws near, which I doubt will give us nearly the same set of hands as before. I could wish to see their first meeting over before the day I sail, but know not how it will happen.

John Dickinson and family, and with him T. Story, about twelve weeks ago, sailed from York, bound hither, but are not heard of; so that, in all probability, they are either taken, or worse, for vessels that sailed thence several weeks from there are arrived here long ago.

I write these few lines chiefly because I would not omit any opportunity, and next to give an account of my own design in my voyage, and therefore tell thee now. Shall refer all other particular notices, and now conclude. Much straitened for time.

Thy most obed't serv't, J. L.

Per the brig fleet, per Captain Robert Gibbs,
Master of the East-ship.

THE SECRETARY'S JUSTIFICATION IN ANSWER TO THE ASSEMBLY'S REMONSTRANCE; PRESENTED TO THE GOVERNOUR THE 29TH OF SEPTEMBER, A. D. 1709.

Whereas, by my Address, presented to the Governour on the 7th day of May last, and by him communicated to the Assembly then sitting, I had most earnestly requested, that the House might be called on to make good the charges which a former Assembly had brought against me, and the last had espoused, I could not but be of opinion that by the method I there took for obtaining this justice, the House would find themselves in honor obliged, without delay, to bring the whole matter to a full and absolute hearing.

But instead of the wished success, all the effects my repeated and pressing instances have been able to produce, has been, as it appears, an amassment of general, but scandalous, calumnies, with which, under the name of a Remonstrance to the Governour, I have, in that paper, been most injuriously loaded, and this

on the very day the Sessions ended, when it was out of my power to make any answer to them in my own justification.

Had the Assembly, as the representative body of the people, upon any belief, right or wrong, that I have been guilty of malfeasance in any of my offices, or injurious to the public, been pleased in plain and express terms to charge me with those offences, and only called for justice against me on presumption that they were able to make good their charges, I should not have accounted it any great hardship. On the contrary, after so much clamour raised, I should gladly have embraced the opportunity I have so long contended for, to purge off those loads of scandal that some have made it their business industriously to heap upon me.

But instead of this, or the least offer on their side to proceed to the trial, to which they were in my last written address, as well as verbal application, so pressingly challenged, the compilers of that Remonstrance, with one or two managers against me, have prevailed on many honest and well-meaning men, under a false pretence that the Governour would not admit of such a trial, to continue with all the bitterness, the use of my name to the same purposes, for which it has generally been brought by such men upon the stage, which upon a full enquiry and examination will be found to be not so much a crimination of me in particular, or a desire that the irregularities they would persuade the world I had committed, should be rectified or restrained; but an attempt of a much higher nature: an endeavour to bring the administration as much as possible into an odium with the people. To this end they choose to represent me as the principal manager of all public affairs. They are willing to invest me with almost all the power and authority in Government, that they may with the greater safety and more specious excuses, attack it in one in my station, which they durst not so freely in the persons in whom 'tis really lodged. That the case is thus, will plainly appear to those who will consider in what mournful terms they generally deplore the miseries, oppressions, and confusions, that this poor afflicted Province (they say) groans under, and very much by the Secretary's means. Yet how groundless and mean are all their charges against me;

how trifling all the instances they produce of those oppressions! Yet in what bitter language they speak of them; and what opportunities, what chosen seasons, they take of noising them abroad! From the 7th of May, the day I presented my Address, to the 29th of September, the last but one that House could possibly sit, not one word was heard of that Address, nor the least proposal to bring the matter to a hearing. Yet in all that time I treated with the Assembly, when sitting, more than any man, and held almost a constant friendly intercourse with them. But behold, when the day of a new election was at hand, when to recommend themselves to the people it was necessary to talk big, and sound aloud that useful language (most useful to some purposes) of grievances and oppression, whether real or imaginary, no matter, (in either case the words carry the same sound,) and of the redress which was wanted, which they had faithfully but fruitlessly endeavoured to obtain; that those who were so quick-sighted as to spy out these grievances, and without such persons few or no grievances would have been felt or spied out amongst us, might be thought the fittest, the only persons to redress them.

Then it was their policy to produce that evil minister, the Secretary, upon the public stage, and to libel him in every county of this Province, as if he, and the articles against him, were to serve only for an engine to be produced on certain occasions, to scare people into a fright, that they might on that condition be better managed by the contrivers.

Roused, therefore, by the heinous provocations, I must now, after my long silence, beg leave to appear, and not only do myself the justice, but the public the service, as to unmask those pretences, and take off the frightful vizard by which not only the Secretary, but, by a more artful contrivance, the administration itself, as it were *pro hac vice* lodged in him, has as oft as there has been occasion for it, been represented dreadful and horrid, and the Secretary a monstrous adversary, fit only for those combatants to engage.

And if, in the persecution of this design, I find myself under a necessity of using a greater freedom of language than I should otherwise choose, where any of the representatives of the people

are discoursed of, I hope that native right, of which all men are inherently possessed, of endeavouring to obtain to themselves justice, will sufficiently excuse me in the eyes of all who account their own reputation dear to them, or worth their espousing; and that the horror all ingenious minds must conceive against being abused by false and artful colours, will dispose the impartial to receive favourably the defence I am obliged to make. I here declare that what I now write is not designed against the representative body of the people, but against those who have misled both the electors and the greatest number of the elected; and more particularly the compiler of the Remonstrance, the Speaker of the last House, of whose conduct I shall have but too much reason to speak. Yet if those honest men, who, called from their useful vocations in the country, come as the delegates of the people to concur in such matters as may be thought for the service of this small Colony, shall suffer themselves to be persuaded that from thence they are clothed with a power of treating all men here, and me particularly, as they think fit, without any regard to the common rules of justice; or that by their meeting together they become invested with a dignity which secures them from being told of the proceedings they have been misled into, I must beg their excuse if I say that I believe them mistaken, and cannot acknowledge any such power or exemption, but that they, as well as I, are answerable for the irregular steps they may make to the injury of another; that they are to be considered as a part of our dependent legislative authority. As I am Secretary is undoubted, but on the one hand I assure the world that I esteem the office but according to its weight here, and should presume on it very little. For should I by virtue of it commit any person here a prisoner of State, as has been frequently done by the Secretary in England, I should, by the men of law at least, be justly accounted ridiculous, and be soon made sensible of my error, by suffering the penalty that would be recovered of me, for abridging any of the Queen's subjects of their liberty, without a due power. So, on the other hand, my reputation and fortune are of no less value to me here than they would be in Great Britain, or than any man's liberty would be to him in any of the Queen's dominions. I

must therefore beg their excuse, if I cannot submit them to anything but the law, unless our Assembly here were the same in all respects with the Parliament, who have a transcendent power by prescription, and consists of hundreds of worthy gentlemen and patriots of great wisdom, skill, and experience, and cannot so easily be biassed as a number under thirty may, who fall much short in those qualifications. But that this House, composed as it is, may prosecute me or any other officer in a regular way, for official misbehaviour, when they find them, and upon due or sufficient proof of them obtain our removal from public places, as it is in itself very reasonable, so I should cheerfully submit to it. But this has not hitherto been the method taken by me. I have been accused, condemned, and publicly staged, without being heard; and taxed with impudence, and other hard names for complaining of this usage, and pressing for a trial, which I cannot take to be either just or reasonable. I am sensible few of the representatives have pretended to act by their own knowledge, but as they were led and informed by others. I am desirous, therefore, that such should not be involved in what I now write; but if they will be prevailed on to make themselves of the party against me, it becomes their own act, for I am obliged to do myself justice. And now I shall proceed directly to consider the Remonstrance.

The first paragraph of that, expressed the great dissatisfaction with which that House is said "to understand that by certain "instructions from the Proprietor, the powers of the Governour's "commission are so restricted that he cannot pass any bill with-"out the approbation and advice of his Council, by which means "the business of the country is retarded, and all the Assembly's "pains and endeavours for the public good rendered ineffect-"ual." Upon this I desire it may be observed that in acts of legislation, which are of the highest importance of any in Government, the Governour, by our Constitution, makes one part of the legislative authority, and the Representatives the other, both which must concur in the law they are to enact, and are accountable for their proceedings, the Governour to his superior in Great Britain, and the Representatives to those who sent them. Now if Governours in America, who are chosen generally from

among such as have been better acquainted with arms than laws and political institutions, and for their direction have in all governments a Council assigned to advise with in all arduous affairs of the public — I say, if such a Governour, or any other immediately after his arrival and entry upon a business altogether new to him, or indeed at any time after, should be precluded from all other advice but what the Representatives should give him, and have no other instruction but that advice to direct him, 'tis evident that his power, in that case, would be of very little service at all. The authority with which he is clothed from the Crown, and for the administration of which he is answerable there, tho' he bore the insignificant name, would in reality be devolved upon the people, those with whom, in matters that perhaps he understood not, he was obliged solely to advise. And that image of monarchy, derived from its original and glorious fountain at home, in the British Constitution, which has been maintained in all the dominions of that kingdom abroad, must necessarily decline into a state very little, if at all, distant from a democracy; a proposal that perhaps might not prove displeasing to some who have thought that England never so truly knew liberty, as when some there proceeded so vigorously in rooting up of grievances, that with them they rooted up the royal family, and afterwards made themselves the greatest grievance the nation had ever known. But to such as value, and would support an English Constitution, all appearances that tend to its subversion beget a real uneasiness, such know that the people alone must not be invested with the sole, or what in this case would be next to the sole, power in legislation here; for, free from the royal negative, we might still keep those laws for almost five years. A Governour that may not act with the full vigour of his authority and support, that by wisdom and prudence, drawn from sound advice and experience, must strengthen himself with the best counsel he can obtain before he adventure positively to give the ultimate sanction on this side of the ocean, which gives to what the Representatives have prepared the full force of a law; his use of this is the best security to the Crown, the best to himself, and often no less to the people. Councils, as they have formerly been told, are in all governments found

necessary, from the most barbarous to the politest, that are known, and certainly, if anywhere, are the most useful in such momentous affairs as the business of legislation.

Instead, therefore, of being an "absurdity that the charters will not admit of," that the Governour should advise with a council in matters of legislation, whether they should oppose or concur with the Assembly, it would truly be such an unprecedented, such a dangerous absurdity, if he should attempt to act without one, that scarce anything would render the Government and whole Constitution more deservedly obnoxious to the censure of the Queen and Ministry at home. But were it in the power of any, as all honest men will wish it never may be, to bring about such an unfortunate revolution as to discard that slender type of monarchy from amongst us, which 'tis certain some have contended for, or at least shown their inclination to, by taxing the Proprietor with injustice in maintaining to himself a negative in legislation contrary to the expectation of some, from his over-strained indulgence at first, before he had seen the fatal consequence of it, had in that point conceded — it cannot, I say, be presumed but that many of the last Assembly were too modest to imagine that all the people of Pennsylvania would in that case have devolved their whole power upon the same choice of men, that made up that House, exclusive of all those of whom the Council consists. It would then, if there were no superior checks here, have nearly concerned every man to weigh the qualifications of his Representatives when so highly intrusted, when now great numbers of the foremost rank are too apt to err on the other side, and scarce think it worth their application, while the Governour by the advice of his Council can restrain all exorbitances and prevent the effects of misapplied power; the continued use of which authority all faithful subjects will ever wish to see, and so much I hope may suffice to disprove the alleged absurdity of the Governour's acting by advice of a Council.

And now I come to the next paragraph, which, after the people had in the first been informed what were the obstructions in the Assembly's way, is designed to display the great diligence of the House and their care of the public, in preparing such a number of bills as are there enumerated. In what language I

shall speak of this, I am at a loss. Should I call it a positive falsehood, it would be taken unkind; and yet that, upon the best inquiry, is truly the case: for there are no less than twelve bills reckoned up by their titles; and yet it is most certainly true that but five of them lie at the Council Board, or in the Secretary's custody, either in the rough draught or copied, in this or in the late Governour's name, or directly or indirectly in any manner whatsoever. And the Governour likewise affirms that he has nŏt any in his possession, but that all he knows of lie at the Board, belonging to the Council, or are in the Secretary's custody, having constantly, as he received any, delivered them there. But the method taken has been, as it appears, to search for the titles, as well as of those bills which were not finished with the Assembly of 1705, who passed at one session no less than fifty Acts, as of all other succeeding Assemblies have ever presented to Governour Evans, whether returned to the House or not, as every one of them were that had been presented and not passed before May last; and therefore none can lie now before the Governour but what have been sent up to him before that time. Yet tho' he never before heard of many, he is in gross charged with all. But what is still more surprising, the Governour is told that the said bills which they had enumerated, "are, for the most part, adapted to the Governour's mind, and cleared of what was materially objected to," notwithstanding, as has been said, he had never seen the greater part of them, nor ever sent the House any objections against more than three of them in all. Such a method of displaying merit and courting applause, the penman should have accounted too dishonourable to have engaged the House in.

But why the Governour thought not fit at the time to proceed in finishing any of these Acts, the House was abundantly told in his last written message, which they were enjoined to communicate to the people, that they might all fully know his mind. But they thought fit to omit it, and in its stead sent into each county a copy only of their remonstrance, so that if no care had been taken on his part to make it more public, it would have not otherwise been heard of, than by the indirect answer they were pleased to give to it. They were there given to understand that

a bill of supply was wanted for his own support, and that the method they had discoursed of for granting it, viz., by presenting to the Governour a bill for that purpose after all the rest were passed, which bill his Council, as such, must by no means see, could not on any terms be complied with. To which may be added, that the entire disposal of all the surplusage above the appropriated £700 to be raised by the tax, was, as they owned themselves, to be left to the Assembly, without any concurrence of the Government; so that to raise that money, for the sake of £200 for himself, for his subsistence, the Governour must contribute all his power, but when raised, several hundreds more must be lodged, which we know not how it is to be disposed of, or to whose use converted, either within or without the Province, here or in London, to send to W. M. and T. L., or any other of the Proprietor's adversaries, or their agents, as some of that House should see convenient; and the Governour, who is principally engaged in and answerable for the administration, should be so far from being concerned in it, that he would have no right, it seems, to enquire to what service or disservice it had ever been applied. This, perhaps, may be thought severe, but before this paper is ended, it will largely appear what occasion has been given for this language. That a Parliament has sometimes raised a sum and appointed commissioners to employ it only to certain purposes expressly named in the Act, is not doubted. But that any Parliament, except one, which was the longest and unhappiest that England ever knew, or any Assembly abroad, have at any time raised a fund, and kept it at their own disposal, is more than all the authors the speaker can quote will, I presume, be ever able to prove, tho' Scobel's arts, I believe, may furnish him a precedent. This being the case, it is no great wonder the managers of that bill thought not fit that it should be laid before the Council and particularly excepted the Secretary, who they knew could never join any more than the rest, with so unreasonable a proposal. And they had yet more reason to be apprehensive of a narrow scanning, if it be true, as has been credibly affirmed, that the members of that Assembly were to be exempted from paying down anything at all to the tax, having provided in the bill that they should discount their

assessments upon account of their wages, which, in a Provincial tax, if I mistake not, is so new that it was never heard of before. If a saving temper be a recommending qualification in a representative, the contrivers of that part have come up to it in earnest.

The next two pages of the Remonstrance are employed wholly upon that evil minister, the Secretary, as they are pleased to call him, and the substance of all is, "that the ascendant which he has in Council, with his rooted aversion to some in that House, is the cause of all the obstructions the Assembly have met with. That his design must be to weary the Representatives and bring the people to a dislike of the Constitution, or oblige them to elect none but such as shall be according to his own heart to comply with his dictates, and connive at his irregularities in Government and oppressions of the people. That he stages those who presume the contrary as the Proprietor's enemies. That the Proprietor is so weak as to credit him, and others drawn in by him, and disregards the most candid advice, so that now he is advanced above the reach of their complaints; that he has treated the Assembly with very opprobrious language;" and then they fall foul on his address to the Governour, &c. To all which I shall answer, not only in my own vindication, but shall also take this opportunity to state the matter in difference between me and those I am said to have an aversion to, so that if the country is any longer imposed on in that particular, it will lie at the door of others, and not mine.

What my ascendant in, or influence over the Council may be, I know not. Only this I know, that if I mistake not, I am the youngest at the Board. That it is generally made up of men of great interest in the country, of an unblemished reputation with those that know them; of men as well qualified with abilities of mind, judgment, and understanding, as any in the country; several of them exercised in, or acquainted with the affairs of Government ever since this has been a Province; many of them men of age and great experience; and such in short, all of them, that the Assembly have never yet adventured personally once to object against. If, therefore, it generally happens that I agree in opinion with such, and they and I have the same sentiments in matters concluded there, the remonstrants could certainly

have said nothing more highly to my advantage. But if they mean that I constantly oppose everything, but what is according to my humour, or obstruct what others advance, unless it suit my own inclinations, I here affirm that the charge is a very gross abuse, and positively false, and what no man can prove. That since I have had the honour to attend that Board, I have ever been the occasion of preventing what a majority there was inclined to. What is intended by the equivalent they mention, I can by no means understand. 'Tis a word that I have not been subject to use, and especially in relation to the Assembly, I cannot persuade myself that any man will be so frontlessly base as to insinuate by it, that I must be bribed, seeing that the bitterest of my enemies durst never yet offer to tax me with the least shadow of corruption in any case whatsoever. But if by an equivalent here be understood that the Governour, while he serves the public on his own part, should have a sufficient support from the country on theirs, they are much in the right of it, such an equivalent being, in itself, most just and reasonable; such in conjunction with other good men, as I shall most earnestly contend for; and no honest men, whatsoever methods may be used to prevent it, will ever dare in direct terms to oppose.

My next crime is a "rooted aversion," which, they say, I bear to some of that House; a phrase the writer has thought fit to turn upon me, out of my own address, to save himself the trouble, I suppose, of answering one charge in it against some of my accusers for bearing such an aversion to the Proprietor, as they had abundantly shewn, I told them, by their several papers sent to England; to which may be added that other charge, that I stage such as will not comply with my dictates, as enemies to the Proprietor, &c.

That I have my inclinations and aversions as well as other men, is not to be doubted and I shall readily confess; that to an inveterate malice against the Proprietor, the founder of this Colony, to a malignity, expressed against him and his interest, upon all occasions without any just cause; to all designs invasive of his authority and right, and to the designers I hope I shall always entertain an utter aversion, till the persons possessed of that temper shall think fit to purge it off, and regard him as they ought in relation to this Province.

It has long been owing to the supine love of ease, and a strong desire to be quiet, that David Lloyd, the Speaker of the last House, has not been beyond the reach of contradiction proved by his overt acts to be fully possessed of the malignity I have mentioned. And now, since no forbearance, nor kind treatment, has been sufficient, as was expected, to restore him to his duty; but instead of altering his measures or condemning his proceedings, he implicitly justifies them in one clause of the last remonstrance, I shall here state some of those proceedings to the public, that when they are clearly heard and understood, the world may judge whether he ought to be accounted any other than an open enemy, and that after this the Proprietor and his friends may know under what denomination to range all those who will abet or uphold him, which many have hitherto done, in some measure thro' ignorance, and a charitable disposition. The account I must give of him is in some few heads, and as briefly as the matter will bear, as follows:

When upon the complaint of the Judge of the Admiralty against him, the Proprietor, soon after his last arrival here, was by command of the Lords Justices of England, who then represented the king, required to turn him out of all offices, and prosecute him for the contempt he had put upon the regal authority, and the opposition to the powers of the Admiralty in its courts here, David Lloyd received the account of it with very high indignation, tho' the Proprietor made him acquainted with it in the mildest method, being to my certain knowledge very much concerned in his behalf. A rancour of which the seeds had been laid ever since he lost a certain commission under Governour Blackwell, began then to break out, and as occasions offered he gave provocations till the matter came entirely to a rupture. But while the Proprietor was here, he exerted his resentments little further than privately to serve as a general depository of ill and disaffected humours towards the Government. Yet as often as the Assembly sat he was not idle with them, tho' not of their number; and in the last the Proprietor held he was most active in diffusing those humours, and even then drew up a list of complaints, as I was largely informed at the time, against me in particular by name, but generally levelled in design against

the Proprietor himself, which he endeavoured to obtrude on a committee then sitting at the house of Anthony Morris, but could by no means prevail or obtain his end. No sooner was the Proprietor gone, than he industriously spread false and injurious reports among the people, especially in the county of Chester, insomuch that there was an entire stop put to the payment of the public tax, until Andrew Job, the then Collector of it in that county, was obliged to come to Philadelphia on purpose, and receive proofs of the falsehood of those reports, to render the people easy. But to tamper with the people was not sufficient for him. He resolved to carry it much higher. For at the next Spring Court in Bucks County he audaciously and openly before the Justices, opposed Colonel Hamilton's Commission, our then Lieutenant-Governour, which I had carried thither with me, denied his authority as such, and affirmed in direct terms, that he could not be our Governour, because a Scotchman, tho' not long after it appeared that the Queen in Council made that no objection when she was pleased to grant him her royal approbation. But that gentleman having the mildest temper, resolved, for some time at least, to forbear, and under his government, or that of the Council after his decease, there was very little room for action or opportunity for David Lloyd to exert himself. But after Colonel Evans came in, whom the Assembly elected before his arrival, of which D. L. had been chosen Speaker, was to act as an House of Representatives, then was a proper scene presented, and accordingly he acquitted himself.

After some endeavours for a re-union with the Lower Counties, one of the first things proposed to that House were the Queen's commands for our contingent to New York, which the Assembly thought not fit to comply with, and answered accordingly. The Governour proved so unfortunate as not to think that answer sufficient, and therefore, in a large written message, sent by Judge Mompesson, who was then of the Council, with another member and myself, and read in the House, they were earnestly pressed to take those commands again into consideration. But the Speaker, upon our delivering him the papers, replied, with some resentment, to this effect: that the Governour

ought not to oppose the mind of the Assembly, with other expressions showing a dissatisfaction, the effect of which very soon appeared; for a very few hours after, I being sent on a very friendly message, which was to desire a conference by committee of the Council and Assembly upon matters of great importance relating to the peace and safety of the Province, the Speaker, without taking any notice of my message, answered me abruptly to this purpose: that the House had other matters under consideration; they were considering whether they could own the Governour's commission or act in conjunction with him. An answer, one would think, not the most direct, had the matter itself been true, nor the most proper to be sent so abruptly to a message of such a different import. So that if it had been really true that the House was employed on such a debate, the answer must be accounted rash and angry. But it happened there was no such debate under consideration, which a member rising up, thought fit to take notice of, and desired that I might not take this message to the Governour, the Speaker having no authority from the House to give it. What debates this might occasion in the House, after my departure, I know not, but this I know, that from hence methods were taken to spend a great deal of time in objecting against the Proprietor's commission to the Lieutenant-Governour, and the matter was carried so high that it cost Judge Mompesson and the rest of the Council no small pains to allay these contentions. It was at length, however, effected; but from that time a resolution was taken to complain to the Proprietor, of his inserting in that commission not only the clause which had been the subject of dispute, but also another, that seemed inconsistent with the Charter of Privileges, the occasion of both which seemed to have been, that the said commission being to be dispatched in great haste, it was drawn by a copy of his former deputation to Colonel Hamilton, granted before that Charter was in being, which copy the Proprietary had with him, being sent him by his order, with many other transcripts, a few weeks after his departure hence; all which transactions, from Governour Evans' arrival to the time I am speaking of, I mention principally to shew the true rise and foundation of what ensued, and to set it in a clearer light.

During the time of that Assembly's sitting, which was for many weeks, nothing was done in relation to that complaint, until the 25th day of August, on which day, being the last they sate but one, the Speaker, and two other members, as a committee, were ordered to draw up a representation of that matter to the Proprietor, to which some other things were added in the minute, but being hindered by other affairs, they had not then time for it. The matter notwithstanding was of too great importance to the Speaker to suffer it to be thus dropped, and therefore it was so managed, that, very near the instance the House was breaking up, when the members had generally rose up, and were in haste to be gone to their respective habitations, an order was passed that the Representation, as it was called, should be yet drawn, and about five other members were named, and appointed to join in it, and then the House adjourned till such time as they should be summoned again by the Governour.

If it was at all intended by this last order, as has been alleged by some, but was not so understood by others, that any such representation should be sent away in the name of the Assembly, and as their act, by whomsoever it was drawn, without being read in the very words of it, and approved by a vote of the House, 'tis certain, that, notwithstanding any excuses that can be drawn from their great hurry or inadvertency, it was one of the most irregular and unparliamentary proceedings that a House of Representatives could easily be led into. But as divers of that Assembly have affirmed, it was thought, that some of the members to whom it was committed, being well known to be not only men of good abilities and understanding, but also to have a due regard to the Proprietor, there could be no great danger in it, and being thus brought in, at the very juncture that they were thinking of no other business but departing, they considered no further of anything relating to it. But what use David Lloyd, through his particular disposition towards the Proprietor, thought fit to make of it, will now appear.

Under colour of this conclusion in the House, he drew up of himself, and without the concurrence of the rest, a most virulent, unmannerly invective against the Proprietor, stuffing it with all the abusive inferences and applications, as well as false charges,

which he could draw or form from the grossest perversions, from the very first transactions in relation to the Government to the time he was writing it, and this in the most insolent language that anything of the kind perhaps was ever known to be presented in by any people to their Governour. Nor until it was finished did he ever, as far as could be found upon inquiry, confer with any of those who by order of the House were equally empowered with him, till after the draught was perfected. But when this was done, and the whole fairly drawn, when the year for which that Assembly was elected had expired, an election for a new one had been held; and therefore he no longer Speaker, viz., the 2d or 3d of October, he brought it, not yet signed, to some of the rest, who seeing he had finished it without consulting them before, refused to be concerned, or to take the least notice of it, being now out of time, and no due regard had to the order of the House that had appointed them.

David Lloyd, however, resolved to proceed as he had begun, and to put the last hand to it boldly, signed this monstrous production of his own, as Speaker, in the name of the Assembly and the freemen of this Province, engaging them all, as far as lay in his power, most scandalously to abuse their Proprietor and Governour in Chief, without their knowledge or the least of their approbation. Nor was he content to send it to the Proprietor alone; but that it might work as effectually as possible, directed it to the hands of two persons in London, known to be the most disaffected to the Proprietor, upon an old difference, of any of their profession in England, joining with them another good friend of theirs, of whom also he had, it seems, good hopes, and with it sent them also a letter, in the same dialect, in relation to the Proprietor, of which I herewith publish an abstract, and shall soon have further occasion to speak to it.

The next Assembly being then just at hand, and hearing soon after they met of this Remonstrance, required an account of it; had it read in the House; condemned it, and understanding that the bearer of it had in his passage put into New York, voted that it should immediately be called back. But this threatening an entire disappointment to all the hopes the author had conceived from the sting and venom of the darling piece of his malice, he

told the House, that, seeing they would not allow it to be their act, which House, notwithstanding, was none of the easiest that has been known, he would take it wholly upon himself, and own it as his proper act alone, and therefore desired it might be suffered to proceed. But this could not be agreed to by all the interest he was able to make, for they ordered him without delay to write to the bearer and require him to return it.

Whether this letter was ever delivered or not, I cannot affirm; but this is certain, that David Lloyd wrote another letter to the same person, being his particular friend, in which he told him that what he had sent by him occasioned disturbance here, and therefore to keep the pacquets he had committed to him very safe, and to deliver them in England as directed. But the man being taken into France on his passage home, he lost them all; and a friend of the Proprietor, who happened to be a fellow-prisoner in the same place, meeting with them after they had been opened by the enemy, carefully picked them up and obtained leave to carry them with him to England; so that all the letters which D. L. had wrote relating to this affair, by that conveyance, were delivered open into the Proprietor's own hands.

After this miscarriage, and after the House had disowned the Remonstrance, and ordered it to be thus recalled, it might reasonably be concluded that a full period must be put to this affair forever. But David Lloyd would not be thus defeated in his designs. He afterwards, notwithstanding his condemnation by the Assembly, sends a duplicate of it, as has since appeared, to the same hands, to be used for the same purposes to which the first was intended; but finding himself unable to procure that spurious product to be made the legitimate act of the House, he resolved, tho' surreptitiously, to get it adopted. He some time after met with an Assembly that were free enough in finding fault, and in telling not only the Lieutenant-Governour and the Proprietor of them, but also those other persons I have mentioned. To these persons was the copy of another new Remonstrance sent, directed to the Proprietor, and which was really the act of the House. And in this complaining of grievances in general terms, David Lloyd craftily added in the margin, by a note of reference, in words to this effect, wrote in his own hand,

"See the Representation in 1704," by this indirect method hoping to have it thought that what was his proper act alone had been actually recognized as an Act of an Assembly.

Yet notwithstanding the great sedulity used to transmit this invective effectually into the hands of those disaffected persons to the Proprietor, no means that could be made use of here were sufficient to procure a copy of it, tho' represented in England as the act of the whole country, till a transcript of it was lately brought from thence. But a great dissatisfaction being raised among the people in the year 1705, from the account given by those who had heard it read in the Assembly that condemned it, an address to the Proprietor was drawn up and signed by all of the same profession in the Council, except myself, by divers members of that Assembly by whose authority it was pretended to be drawn, and by several hundreds of others; scarce any of the profession, who were men of any note in the Province, except David Lloyd, and a few others of the same kind of leaven, having omitted to subscribe it; in which address they entirely disowned that Remonstrance to be any act of theirs, or to have been done with their knowledge or approbation.

But before I finish the narrative of this scandalous proceeding, I must not omit to notice the foundation which David Lloyd took care to lay for his own defence, which proved much of the same piece with his superstructure, and did thus appear. When some of those who had been appointed by the House to draw up the representation, as it was really intended by them, received, to their great surprise, an account to what a height the matter had been carried, they thought themselves deeply concerned without delay to inquire into all the steps of it; and thereupon going to the Speaker, after some discourse with him required a sight of the Assembly's minutes, which being produced, they found them fully interlined in David Lloyd's own hand, as close as the paper would well bear, between the last minute, as entered in the Clerk's hand, and the entry of the House's last adjournment, in which interlineation was contained an order concerning this representation, and particularly, as far as can be remembered, that the Speaker should sign and send it away, &c.; in exercise of which entry, upon being questioned upon it, he

pleaded that the care of the minutes, it was well known, was left to him, the clerks there employed being unskilled, &c.

But in transcribing them, after the matter had been canvassed, in the next Assembly appeared still more of the same kind of candour and ingenuity; for according to a copy taken from thence, there are nine articles inserted in that place, which were to be drawn, as by the minute, at the very time, it says forthwith, and accordingly, it seems were done, tho' they fill a side paper, and at the end they are closed with a note, which says, that being read in the House, they were *nemine contradicente* agreed to. And yet there are several members of undoubted credit, who were then present, when the order for that representation was passed, of whom I have most carefully inquired, that neither can remember nor believe that ever those articles were read there. Nay, it was next to an impossibility, that, while divers of those members were present, such a vote could be passed in their hearing, and with their assent or approbation; for not only the manner of them was much overstrained, but the language they are dressed in is so very indecent and abusive, that by such men it never could be consented to. But if a certain new explanation of *nemine contradicente* be applied to this, 'tis possible the vote may still have some truth in it; for if but three or four, or such a number, heard it read, and some such number I believe there may be found that will strain their memories in favour of such a minute, it is certain it might pass them safely with a *nemine contradicente* from all the rest who heard nothing of the matter amidst the hurry of their departure. But how this becomes a vote of the House I shall leave to others to determine; as also of what credit or authority such minutes can prove in David Lloyd's own case, to justify his proceedings. But if he will adventure to contradict what I have said of those interlineations, let him produce before impartial and equitable judges the genuine foul minutes of that day, the same that were then wrote in the House, and not any transcription afterwards, either in the same clerk's hand or in another's; and these will easily and fully decide the matter. And for the rest relating to that Assembly, I shall refer the whole to a large majority of surviving members, excluding only one or two, who being then

heartily affected to the design, were afterwards coadjutors to David Lloyd in that piece of management, and especially in dispatching the duplicate after condemnation; for such, being so deeply accessory in the guilt, are in this but little different from the principal. But the majority will readily declare that the management of this affair was an imposition on that House, and that the authority of it was grossly abused by a most disingenuous contrivance.

I have now done with this relation, and can scarce think it necessary to make further observations on any part of it; for not only his unparalleled baseness to the Proprietor thro' it all, but his breach of trust to the Assembly, with the gross abuse he put by it on the country in general, appear so clear throughout the whole, that the simple statement alone is necessary, and he has skill enough himself in the law to know that his boldness in fixing on the whole body of a people the overflowing of his own gall — his sending it in their name, but without their knowledge or approbation by themselves or their Representatives, and by this means engaging them in a kind of hostility against their rightful Governour, with his working up the minutes of the Assembly to answer his own purposes, which ought to be accounted sacred, and kept in impartial hands, for the justification of all the members and satisfaction of the whole people, are crimes that would, in some of the Queen's dominions, were the same to be transacted there, be atoned for with a punishment that in this Government he is no way apprehensive of.

Nor is there occasion to say much more of his letter to George Whitehead, William Meade, and Thomas Lowry, than only to expose it. His undertaking to write of affairs so nearly concerning the public, to strangers to whom this Province stands in no relation, pitched on principally because two of them were known to be the Proprietor's adversaries; his abusing the Government by gross lies, particularly in what he says of the Governour's proclamation about oaths; his representing that Friends are shut out, and by consequence the vilest of men let into the administration; his undertaking to give an expectation of £100 per annum, of the public money, to these men without any sufficient authority for it; his invalidating the Assembly's former

address, full of respect and thanks to the Proprietor, and pretending to account for the inconsistency of their genuine one and his adulterated Remonstrance by the idlest excuses; his encouragement to those strangers to us to obtain a Chief-Justice, with the Queen's commission, while the Government is in the Proprietors, and thereby to break in and violate the Royal Charter, on which alone the whole Constitution of this Government depends; his making it an objection against a Magistrate in this Province that he is in the Proprietor's interest, by which he plainly shews that he at least would have none employed that are so; his falsehood and treachery in particular to Judge Mompesson, for whom he professed the highest respect and engaged to serve him in a very different manner; and, in fine, his unmannerly treatment of the Proprietor as often as he mentions him in that letter, which is sufficiently obvious in the perusal, and needs no other proofs to demonstrate him to be not only deeply and maliciously engaged against the Proprietor, but that he can be faithless and base in other respects, when it will answer an end. But to pursue the same subject a little further, and give one instance more of the enmity I have mentioned: At a time when most men of honour or conscience, of all persuasions, were moved with generous horror at the unparalleled abuses and impositions put upon the Proprietor by Philip Ford, his steward and agent, in whom he had confided with unsuspicious trust; when this Province was in visible danger of being thrown by these means into deep confusion in matters of property and lands; when all honest men earnestly wished, for the sake of their neighbours and acquaintance, if not for the Proprietor's and their own, that the country might be rescued from the hands of those oppressors, and among the rest David Lloyd, the better to recommend himself, found it necessary to condole the common unhappiness, and seem desirous of finding some mode of relief. Yet how he in reality at that time stood affected, and how eager he was that family should obtain the Province, tho' for the fruits of treachery and extortion, and not only to the Proprietor's but to the country's ruin, will also appear by his letters to Philip Ford, in his well known strain in relation to William Penn, of which letter I also herewith publish an abstract.

Thus far I have waded thro' some parts of his conduct in relation to the Proprietor; nor are these by any means the only instances that can be given. My troubles in the Proprietor's affairs, since I have been concerned in them, have abundantly witnessed to me that it has seldom lain in his power to perplex anything relating to that interest but he has done it most heartily; and the contemptuous turns of expression he seldom fails to use when in his papers he has occasion to speak of him, are such additional proofs that they cannot easily be forgotten. But I shall here no longer dwell on this head, having, I presume, unquestionably made appear what I first undertook to prove — that I have considered David Lloyd as an enemy to the Proprietor and his interest. I have not erred in my opinion, and, therefore, I hope that if in defence of that just and honest interest in which I am engaged, I have been obliged to oppose any of his attempts to invade it, I shall, instead of incurring the censure, gain the approbation of all such who have a value for fidelity, or an hearty endeavour at least to discharge a trust with integrity. But if it be alleged, as it has often been without cause, that my hard opinion of David Lloyd has occasioned obstructions to the business of the public, I do here confidently affirm I know not any one instance of anything, in which he has been engaged, that in the best of my judgment, abstracted from all other considerations, I could believe to be for the benefit of public, and not too injurious to any other just interest, but I have cheerfully concurred with the promoters to the best of my ability. And such audacious attacks as he has made upon the chief Governour of the place, those gentlemen of the next Assembly who may find it incumbent on them to inquire into and obtain redress of the real grievances of the public, will, I hope, think themselves obliged to consider what I have here advanced concerning David Lloyd, and be entirely of opinion that there is justice due as well against the enemy, as the friends of their Proprietor and chief Governour — he by whose interest alone this first was made a Government; from whom all our Assemblies derive their authority; whom the country from the first had regarded not only as the founder, but as a common father to it.

Under the specious pretences of names, sounding gratefully in

the people's ears, for some specious name and pretences have always covered ill designs, means were found to prevail on some, and spread by degrees an infection that still wrought the most effectually on the sourest temper, or where the minds of any were prejudiced on the score of old differences in religion. Since that time remote inquiries have been made into matters transacted twenty years before, by the concurrence of those who were then living, and who being most deeply concerned in them, were then the proper judges, and when the principal manager of these inquiries neither knew nor had the least interest in the place. But now, under a pretended care of the public, those transactions are raked up, and put into deformed dresses, to be ministers of the anger and resentment of particulars, whilst others who are at least equally interested in them all, cannot be sensible of the smallest occasion given for such ill-natured proceedings. But I have done with David Lloyd for the present, and shall return to the Remonstrance.

The next charge against me is, that my design can be no other than to weary out the Representatives, and bring the people into a dislike of the Constitution, &c ; to which I must say that I should be heartily glad to see all those who take the measures I have complained of become entirely weary of their proceedings, and not only those who have been themselves engaged in designs against the Proprietor, but those also who for want of due consideration are made accessory or subservient to them. I should desire to see all men who in this Province lie under an obligation of duty to their Governour in chief, the founder and supporter of this Colony, the truest prosperity of which is his greatest interest, become heartily weary of representing him as an oppressor of it, an invader of the people's rights, a violator of his contracts, which has been done by some who, in the time of his heavy oppressions, without compassion, endeavoured to load him with yet deeper afflictions and trouble. I would have them weary of endeavouring to invade his estate by converting his quit-rents to the use and support of the Government; in treating him in contemptuous and affrontive language, or any otherways than as become the Queen's dutiful subjects towards him, to whose Government, under the Crown, they are committed; to

see all men weary of such measures and become fully convinced that it is their truest interest to acquit themselves towards him civilly and with a due respect; to make the administration of the Government easy to him; to encourage him to support this administration, which, if they please themselves, may render them more happy on that score than any people in America; and especially to see them weary of giving him the highest provocations to part with them entirely, and regard them as his friends no more, — is what I earnestly long to see; and this method, instead of raising in the people a dislike of the Constitution, would oblige them to embrace it more heartily than ever, as being the directest means to make them truly happy. And such men as would by no endeavours suffer themselves to be led, and put beside the true measures for obtaining these noble ends, are those whom the country, when they come to be sensible in what their happiness consists, will think fit to represent them. Such were generally the men that I contended for at the only time that, to the best of my remembrance, I ever voted at an election, whose good sense and deep interest in the public weal of the Province set them, as the same does the Council, much above being practised on to complying with my dictates, if I had any other end to prosecute, which I deny, but which they entirely had in their view, that is the real interest and happiness of the people and Government under which we lived.

But in answer to the charge that I am only for those who will connive at my irregularities in government and oppressions of the people, I shall here lay hold of this opportunity once more to call on all men, who imagine they have anything to charge me with, on either of these heads, to appear and bring their utmost force against me. I crave no favour nor mercy, but what is generally due to all mankind. Let my bitterest adversaries arm their sharpest rage, and do the utmost that wit or malice can invent. Let them, after the severest scrutiny into my conduct, stage all the false steps I have made for these nine years past, in relation to the public, and prosecute them to the utmost rigour. Notwithstanding, it cannot be easy to any man to be put on so severe a trial, yet, rather than the country shall be thus intolerably imposed on, I shall willingly submit to it, and

be so far from seeking any subterfuge that I will use my utmost endeavours to procure them all the satisfaction they can desire in hearing of their case. Nay, I will undertake that they shall be heard, and have all the justice and relief that any reasonable judges can or will decree against me, provided they will appear and demonstrate their particular wrongs. Not that I am so vain as to believe my conduct blameless; I am human, and therefore subject to human failings. But this I say, that as I know not one instance wherein I have not, to the best of my ability, endeavoured to discharge a good conscience, and tho' sufficiently unexperienced for the trusts reposed in me, yet, in consideration even of that, I have always been so cautious as to avoid the very appearance of falling into danger, or of being guilty of any acts of injustice. So I am not apprehensive that I shall be found more faulty than I should expect any other man in my circumstances, and of no greater ability, to prove upon such a trial. In 1707 the Assembly of that year, in fourteen written articles, produced all, I may reasonably suppose, they had then to charge me with, which articles he that will impartially consider, and is acquainted with the affairs of this Province, will have reason to believe that I have no cause to be apprehensive of any trial, anywhere, that could possibly be had on these heads. I here assure my impeachers that I am not, for I earnestly long to see what sort of proof can be brought that I have wickedly endeavoured to introduce an arbitrary Government, as I am charged in the first article; what arguments can be advanced to prove the two gross falsehoods and impossibilities of the second and third articles, where I am accused of inserting two clauses in a commission wrote at three thousand miles distance, of which I knew not one syllable till shewn me by the gentleman to whom it was granted; what crime it is for the Provincial Secretary to draw patents, or how they will prove my imposing of them, when the delay of granting them is a complaint in another place, which is insisted in the fourth; wherein I have erred in the business of quit-rents, the subject of the fifth, having ever endeavoured to keep strictly to the general rules observed here, long before I ever expected to see this Province. I would proceed to the rest, tho' I know since they are yet to be heard and tried,

it may not be altogether safe for me; yet I shall proceed to say I shall be glad to see wherein the wrong consists, that men have had liberty to re-survey their own lands, by a commissionated surveyor, which I take to be the sole argument of the sixth; or how, as by the seventh, I ever concerned myself in the partition of any lands that were really fixed to any men, having, tho' often solicited to it, most carefully avoided that practice, notwithstanding it was no uncommon one, as I have been informed, at the first settlement of this Colony; how it came to be a fault in me not to lay a paper before the Assembly, which was neither in my custody nor under my direction, having delivered it, as was my duty, to the Governour the same day it came to hand, upon which particular head I could say much more to shew the absurdity of that article, if it were now proper or safe for me; or why, as Clerk to the Council, I should send more to the House than I was ordered, which makes the eighth and ninth; where the damage was, that I endeavoured to husband the re-survey of lands in the Proprietor's behalf, to the best advantage, without the least injury to any man, or the least benefit to myself, the subject of the tenth; the crime was, that I kept the laws by me until I could take fair copies of them, to be presented to the Queen, which makes the eleventh; why I should suffer John Swift to enjoy two lots for the quit-rent of one only, because my clerk had committed a mistake in it, and did not cancel it before it went out of my office, which I, with the said Commissioners' approbation, and in their presence; or why the same Swift should reap the benefit of my labour without paying for it, or enjoy the advantage of an exemplification before he had the original, which is the sole foundation of the twelfth charge; or why, as the Proprietor's Secretary, I might not speak what I knew certainly to be true, and was an eye and ear witness to in relation to any charter he had granted, as I am charged in the thirteenth; or where the crime lay to advise J. Budd, for his own advantage, not to insist upon what was truly inconsistent with the law; but if he wanted the Sheriff's office, to take it on the only terms on which, according to our law, it could be granted; for by that it appeared the people had no right that year to choose, and therefore, by the illegal choice they had made, J.

Budd could never have that office, which brings up the rear; and these are all those mighty articles, with which the people have been so amused, as if they contained some high and heinous offences, tending to the subversion of all their civil rights, when, on the contrary, if I could be favoured with an opportunity of speaking to them, which I have reason to believe the House, conscious of their emptiness and insignificancy, never designed I should, I could easily make it appear that I had not deviated from the just discharge of my duty in any one of them; and yet, if upon so severe a scrutiny into my conduct, it should appear that in so many years I had been guilty of some lapses, it might reasonably, perhaps, be expected that in so new a country, a much milder prosecution than I have met with, especially from some who commit the most barbarous irregularities in their own practice, might have allowed for the offence; but I have reason to be thankful that, after a most malicious resolution, formed to do their utmost against me, none of my prosecutors have been able to find one charge, that the severest reflection on myself I have had any reason to repent of. And further, I cannot omit to observe that, notwithstanding the members of that Assembly pretended that the House, upon the petitions they had received, found themselves obliged to take this method to redress the people's wrongs, yet I am well assured that at least three-fourths of the number of these articles had their rise in that House, and many of them from David Lloyd himself, either in his own behalf, or for some of his clients, or indirectly the main scope of all, to strike at the Proprietor through me.

But to continue the same superlative ingenuity: on the 12th of May, 1707, in the minutes of that House, there was one entered in these words, viz.: "Several petitions against the Secretary, complaining of the great abuses, intolerable oppressions, insolent behaviour, and opprobrious language of the said Secretary to the several petitioners, when they had occasion to apply to him, about their patents and other affairs pertaining to his office, being brought to the House, were read." Words well-chosen, it must be confessed, to make a horrid sound. Yet I have never been able, by any inquiry which I could make, to find what any of these petitions were, except Robert Pounds were one;

according to their wonderful candour expressed to me, on all occasions, they thought fit to cause three or four petitions, which, with much industry, had been procured against me, and had been carefully entered on the minutes before, to be read over again, that they might have some colour for a recapitulation of their well known invectives. I say, what any of these petitions were I could never find, nor do I believe there was any besides what had been entered before, which, as far as I can remember, not being able now to come at the minutes, those of that Assembly having taken care to withdraw out of the Coffee House every one of them, in which was entered any petition against me, except those of the 12th of May, which were secured before. But all that were ever exhibited against me, as far as I could by any means learn, and can now remember, are those that follow, viz.: one from William Rakestraw, complaining that I withheld a lot from him, to which lot six men of note, indifferently chosen between him and me, upon his clamours against me, in another place, have since given it, in an award under their hands and seals, that he had no manner of right, either in law or equity, nor any cause whatsoever, of complaint against me; but, on the contrary, ordered him to make satisfaction for his abuses and scurrilous libels and rhymes against the Proprietor and me. One from Edward Beeston, upon a disappointment he met with in some lands he had purchased in England, and found them here claimed by other purchasers upon a prior survey, upon which expressing his uneasiness, some of that House found a way to lay the blame at my door, who was altogether innocent, and by that means obtained a petition against me, for which the honest man has since largely expressed his trouble, that he should be so imposed on, and suffer himself to be made a tool to such ends. One from Richard Thomas, at David Lloyd's instigation, complaining of I know not what, for I am sure he had no cause, nor would he ever own further to me than that he was overpersuaded and was sorry for it. One from I. Walker, at the instigation of the same man and others of that House, complaining that I would not grant him a patent for a lot which by mistake had been laid out in Richard Davis' right after he had obtained grants before, for much more than was due to him.

One from Robert Pounds, a butcher, most earnestly solicited by another member of that House, complaining of the loss of a deed which he had brought to the Commissioners of Property, not of inquiry, as the minutes makes it, and if left there, for I know nothing whether it was or not, happened to be mislaid; to which, the better to aggravate the matter, he was induced to add an account of some words that had passed between us upon an overcharge in an account in the way of his trade, without the least relation to the deed or any business he had with me as an officer. To which may be added another petition to a former Assembly, presented by Francis Cook, by the direction of the same David Lloyd, his attorney-at-law, praying for relief against a positive bond, given the Proprietor by James Claypoole, for 5,000 acres of land, sold him, as I remember, in 1682, which bond I had put in suit against him, as administrator of the estate. And these, as far as I could possibly learn, are all the petitions, either then or since brought against me, except the base one of the Swedes, to which I shall speak anon. Of which petitions not one of them, except Robert Pounds, if it be true he left his deed in the office, had any real right to demand of me what they claimed; nor was there a man of them, except the first, whose scurrility is so well known that I need not make any further observations upon it, but were persuaded to what they did by some of that House, as they have every one singly confessed to me; the design of which could be no other than to fill up a cry against me, whether with or without cause, right or wrong, no matter. A cry against the Proprietor's chief agent here was the thing wanted, and the better to increase it they solicited divers others, about the same time, who they supposed dissatisfied from having been refused various demands; but those already mentioned appear to be all they were able to mislead, the rest having a greater sense of justice and honour. Such an account, I am sensible, among sober men, will scarce be credited; but it is as true as that they had the example of a certain former Parliament of England, who drew up petitions to themselves that they afterwards published as the people's great oppressions, when jealousies and fears were spread, and all arts used to put the kingdom in a flame and overset the noblest of Constitutions. I am

ashamed and troubled, I must confess, that there should be a necessity to expose such weaknesses and absurdities in an Assembly of that Province in which my public station has so deeply interested me; but seeing they have been prevailed on to make themselves accessory to the enormous and groundless charges that have been heaped upon me, and have had so little regard to their own honour and the dignity of the House, as to suffer their authority as an Assembly to be made an investment of the malice and sinister designs of some particular men, not only against me, but against the Proprietor himself, such conduct on their part, imposing on me a necessity of thus appearing before the publick in my own vindication, will, I hope, not only excuse me, but prove of service to that publick in stating to their view what occasion had been given for all the clamour which the people of this Province have been so long abused.

I have here mentioned every complaint which to my knowledge has been exhibited against me, either in the affairs of Government or property, and am ready to answer to every one of them in any reasonable manner. I speak to what I know; I challenge all my adversaries to produce more, and desire a trial upon all they can allege or pretend, which is the utmost in my power. And now I shall leave it to all rational men to pledge what cause the Proprietor has, from all that has been mentioned, to shut his ears against his Secretary, and open them to "such candid advice," to use their own language, as has been given him to remove him as an enemy for the special reasons of the charges they have brought against him; or why it should be accounted a weakness, as they call it, in him not to exchange those he has long tried and known, for such as have treated him so invidiously and with such malice, as has been largely shewn.

Had these men, by their narrow scrutiny into my actions, been able to prove that for the sake of lucre to myself, I had perverted justice, received bribes in any case, or been guilty of corruption; if I had lent an easy ear to him that offered to give, and shut it to the cause of the poor; if in matters of Government I had by my place in the Council, as some have done by theirs in the Assembly, by my own act, without their privity or consent, engaged that Board in scandalous abuses against our

supreme magistrate, next under the Queen, and after their disowning and condemning the act, and their positive orders to recall it, continue to use all artifices to baffle them, and pawn the fruits of my own wickedness upon them, and whether they would or not, entitle them to the spurious productions of my own spleen; or that in affairs of property I had been principally concerned to manage a conspiracy against a company of Germans residing in Europe, and without any pretence of right save that their attorney owed my client money, by a treacherous collusion of that attorney tricked the honest men (for the present at least) out of the possession of a large estate and vast tract of land, to the irreparable scandal of the Government; and by an equal treachery in the same man, taken the lands of another absent purchaser in pay for my trouble. Had I been proved guilty of any such crimes, all reasonable men must allow that it had been well worth the Assembly's time and the country's charge of near nine pounds a day! to have spent weeks upon inspecting me and using their utmost endeavours, by my impeachment, to purge the country of such scandal to it, as the actor of such villanies, by all men of honour and conscience, must ever be accounted.

The next thing in the Remonstrance that in course I should speak to, is the observations made on my address to the Governour; but since that is published, I think none of them worthy my notice.

NOTE. — I am sorry I cannot get the whole of this transcribed in time; but so much as is finished, I here leave for the perusal of any such as may desire it.[1] J. LOGAN.

Copied from the only manuscript of it in our possession. (Left in Pennsylvania, when he went to England in 1709.)

13*th* 7*th-mo.*, 1823. — L.

Endorsement on the outside of the paper: "J. L.'s Justification, left in Pennsylvania.[2] What relates to David Lloyd in this was laid by

[1] [This document, so far as we know, has never been printed, and it is a matter of regret that so interesting a paper should have been left incomplete. — EDITOR.]

[2] With Isaac Norris. — L.

J. L. before the House the 19th of October, 1709; but they took no notice of it till the Speaker, thirty-two days after, presented his vindication, and then they called on J. L. for his proofs, when the ship he was to go in was ready to sail."

ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT,

Exhibited by the freemen of the Province of Pensilvania, in this present Assembly, met in their own name and in the name of all the freemen of the said Province, against James Logan, Secretary of the same Province, of high crimes, and misdemeanours, and offences.

That the said James Logan hath wickedly endeavoured to deprive the Queen's subjects in this Province of the privileges and benefits which they ought to enjoy, by the fundamental laws of England and established Constitutions of this Government, and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary Government against law, which he has declared by divers words, opinions, practices, and actions, —

That whereas the late King Charles the Second, by his letters patent to the Proprietor, commands that the laws to be enacted by him or his Lieutenant, by and with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen of this country, or the greater part of them, or of their Delegates, shall be most absolute and available in law; under a proviso, that such laws be not repugnant, but so far as conveniently may be, agreeable with the laws of England, and not adjudged or declared void by the King, his heirs, or successors, within the time and after the manner in the said letters patent prescribed. Nevertheless, the said James Logan, endeavouring to render that part of the royal grant, as well as the power of legislation, ineffectual to the Queen's subjects, under the administration of this Government, did insert a certain salve or exception in the Proprietary's commission to his Lieutenant-Governour, whereby the final assent to all such bills as he was to pass into laws in this Province is absolutely lodged in the Proprietary; notwithstanding such Lieutenant (clothed with the royal approbation, and in all other respects qualified in the Proprietary's absence to act in legislation) did concur in the enacting of those laws.

That whereas by the Charter of Privileges, which the Proprietary in a General Assembly held here the twenty-eighth day of October, 1701,

granted to the people of this Province, it is (amongst other things) provided that the elections of their Delegates to serve in Assembly should be on the first day of October yearly, and their meeting on the fourteenth of the same month, and that they should sit upon their own adjournments; nevertheless, the said James Logan, not ignorant of the premises, but contriving and wickedly intending to violate that part of the Constitution of this Government, did insert a clause in the aforesaid commission, which empowers the Governour, by his writs, to call Assemblies, and the same from time to time to prorogue or dissolve, as he shall see cause.

That whereas by Act of Assembly . . . . . [1], in the year 1700, and afterwards confirmed here, it was directed that all lands taken up and possessed as that Act mentions, should be confirmed by the Proprietary to the seaters or possessors thereof, their heirs and assigns, and the Proprietary appointed Commissioners of Property, in his absence to confirm the said lands accordingly; but the said James Logan, as he was the Proprietary's Secretary, or under some other pretence, contrary to law and good conscience, did impose upon divers of the Queen's subjects certain patents or grants of his own, drawing for the confirmation of their lands, refusing them draughts or copies of those grants to advise concerning the validity thereof, or the assurance of the land thereby to be confirmed.

That the said James Logan, contrary to law and justice, hath in divers of the said patents reserved quit-rents for several years before the patentees had any certain location or assurance of their lands, and denied several persons their patents, unless they would comply with those and such like unreasonable terms as make the freeholders pay quit-rent for the land which the said Act of Assembly allows them for roads and difference of survey.

That although by the said Act of Assembly the Proprietary was let in at any time, within two years thereafter, to re-survey the people's land; and by another made at Philadelphia, in 1701, he had another year given him to continue his re-survey; yet the said James Logan, as one of the Proprietary's Commissioners, after the expiration of the times in the said Acts limited for re-survey, and after the Queen repealed the said Acts, did grant out warrants for re-surveys, whereby divers of the Queen's subjects have been disquited in their lawful possessions.

That the said James Logan, without any authority of law, hath

[1] [The word "passed" is perhaps here omitted. — EDITOR.]

caused partition of lands in this Province to be made between persons having undivided rights, whereby lands have been surveyed and allotted to some of the parties, without the consent or privacy of the others, to whom those undivided rights belonged, which is to the manifest injury of the subjects, and evident subversion of the law.

That whereas the said James Logan, on the 10th of December, 1705, received, by John Guy, certain objections made by the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, upon several of the laws of this Province, which objections, excepting only some part of that about attests of officers, he, the said James Logan, to the great loss and detriment of this Province, did conceal from the Assembly then sitting, whereby several of the laws then enacted are liable to be repealed by the Queen for the same reason as the former were: But if the said objections had been produced to that Assembly in due time, divers other laws of great moment to the people of this Province, which were objected against, might have been amended and sent home with the rest of our laws, entirely accommodated to the expectation of the Board of Trade, which would have been the only way to recommend them for the royal allowance.

That the said James Logan, in that part of the said objections which he laid before the last Assembly about the attests of officers, has wholly omitted what would have discovered how the Proprietary was about surrendering this Government, so that the imposts and forfeitures which that Assembly, for want of seeing the aforesaid objections, have given to the Proprietary, contrary to the opinion of the Board of Trade, might have been appropriated for the support of Government under such administration as the surrender had cast it, without endangering the several laws then past directly opposing the said objections, which may prove most fatal to those, as well as the rest of the laws, and to the Province in general.

That whereas the office of Surveyor-General and the Proprietary's Secretary, ought to be kept as they were at first intended to be, a mutual check upon each other for the general security of the Proprietary and his tenants; nevertheless the said James Logan, contrary to the Proprietary's intent by the first institution of the said offices, and to the manifest insecurity of the freeholders and owners of land in that Province, hath since the death of Edward Penington, late Surveyor-General, kept both the said offices in his own hands or power.

That whereas the Charter of Privileges has made provision for the recording of the laws of this Province in the Rolls Office forthwith, after they past the Governour and Assembly; nevertheless, the said

James Logan, contrary to the said charter, and against the liberty of the subject, has detained, till of late, the laws past at the last Assembly, so that no authentic copies could be had thereof for the service of the country.

That whereas all grants or patents, after they pass the Proprietary's Great Seal, ought to be delivered to the grantees, and not to be concealed or vacated but by due procedure upon a *scire facias* in a court of law or equity; nevertheless, the said James Logan hath detained several patents from the owners thereof, until they would comply with his unreasonable terms; and he, the said James Logan, of his own presumptuous mind without lawful authority, hath vacated some of the said patents and charged or caveated the Master of the Rolls, who had recorded the same patents, that he should make out no exemplification or copies thereof.

That after the Charter of Privileges and Charter of the City of Philadelphia had passed the Proprietary's Great Seal, and received the necessary sanctions to make them grants of record, he, the said James Logan, to the great dishonour of the Proprietary, and with a wicked intent to create divisions and misunderstandings between him and the people, did at divers times and upon several occasions declare that the Proprietary never intended to grant several things which are expressly granted in the said charters.

That whereas John Budd, at the last election for the County and City of Philadelphia, was duly chosen Sheriff of the said City and County for this year; nevertheless, the said James Logan, to shew his further endeavours to subvert and betray the rights and privileges of the people in such election, hath advised or persuaded the said John Budd not to insist upon having the said office of Sheriff in the right of the people's election, but to take it as the Governour's donation; all which words, opinions, and actions of the said James Logan were by him spoken and done wickedly, falsely and maliciously, to set a division between the Proprietary and the people of this Province, and to subvert the law, and to introduce an arbitrary Government.

And the said Representatives, by protestation, saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other accusation or impeachment against the said James Logan, and also of replying to the answer that he shall make thereunto and of offering proofs of the premises, or of any other accusation that shall be by them exhibited against him, as the case shall require, do desire that he the said James Logan, may be put to answer all and every of the premises; and that such proceedings, examinations, trials, and judgments, may

be upon him, had, and used as is agreeable to law and justice, according to the course of General Assembly, resolved that James Logan be impeached upon the said articles.

JAMES LOGAN TO THE ASSEMBLY.

To the House of Representatives, now sitting at Philadelphia.

8br the 19th, 1709.

May it please the House:

Finding by your answer, this day presented to the Governour, how far you espouse the proceedings of the last Assembly, I shall at present decline to lay anything before you but what was ordered upon reading my defence at the Council Board, which I herewith send you in the following leaves, beginning at that paragraph of my said defence which gives an introduction to that affair, to which I have added about half a sheet more that it concerns me upon account of one part of it to offer to your perusal.

What I have alleged concerning the Speaker in those leaves where the matter requires a proof, I shall be ready to produce it when called for, but must here observe that of the Members of the Assembly that sat in the Summer of 1704, who are now also of the present House, I must object against the evidence of G. I., because he made himself a party to the Remonstrance by signing with D. L. an indorsement on the duplicate sent to G. W., &c., after the first was taken into France, and by the copy read in the succeeding Assembly had been there condemned; and another member also, who was one of the two or three that approved of the thing, I take to be too partial towards it, because he confessedly had also agreed to it, when finished by the writer; both whom I must therefore account parties in it; and for the other two, how far they themselves will think fit to rely on their memories, I know not. Only this I desire may be observed, that there is nothing there alleged in relation to the order of the House, on which the whole depends, but what by a considerable number of men of unquestioned veracity, I shall undertake to prove.

I here send you a complete copy of D. L.'s letter to G. W., W. M., and T. L., but an abstract only of those to P. F., which any of the House, who shall be ordered for that purpose, or others for their satisfaction, shall have liberty to compare with the original of the first and

a well-attested copy of the others. And if you desire to see the rest of my defence and answer, you may have it at my return from New Castle, whither I am now going to wait upon the Governour.

If I may now adventure to ask anything of you, after the treatment I have received, I would desire that what I write may be impartially considered, and that it may be thought there is at least as great a regard to be had to the Proprietor and Governour-in-chief of the Province, as to any other man concerned in it. And further, that you would be pleased to believe that the same common justice that is owing to all other men, is also due to the much injured, J. Logan.

Isaac Norris to Ezekiel Gomersall, Jamaica.

Nov. 22, 1709.[1]

Friend Ezekiel: . . . . . We are extremely melancholy and disconsolate on account of our dear friends, Jonathan and Mary Dickinson, having as yet no manner of news from them. We had a long time some faint hopes of their being at Carolina, but now doubt it also. I pray God they may be safe with their lives, and beg to hear first whether you have any news to give us. I am, with love, thy real friend, Is. Norris.

To the House of Representatives of the Province of Pensilvania.

The Petition of James Logan, Secretary of the said Province.[2]

In most humble manner sheweth:

That whereas the Assembly of this Province chose the first day of October, 1706, thought fit, as is well known to you, in the month of February, in the same year, to exhibit to the then Lieutenant-Governour certain Articles of Impeachment against me, copies of which have been

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.]

[2] [This paper, which we print in order to make the other documents connected with the subject more intelligible, may also be seen in 2 Proud's History, p. 39. It has the following indorsement, in Logan's hand: "J. L.'s Petition, Complaint, &c., to the Assembly, 1st and 22d 9br, 1709, and 22d 9br, 1709." — Editor.]

industriously diffused abroad; and since that time other complaints have also been presented, and upon the presumption that those accusations might be true, divers applications have been made by the last Assembly to the present Lieutenant-Governour, requesting that I might be removed from his Council, &c. Yet so it is, may it please the House, that not one of these articles or complaints have ever to this day been duly heard, or any so proved or even rendered intelligible, as that according to justice I might have the opportunity of answering them or speaking in my own justification, notwithstanding I had by several repeated instances earnestly pressed to obtain that favour, by which means, and the endeavours that divers persons highly disaffected towards me have used to calumniate me among the inhabitants of this Province, I have been most grievously injured and oppressed; now, inasmuch as, for some months past, it has been generally known that I am speedily to undertake a voyage for Great Britain, whither the Proprietary's affairs do at present urgently call me; and being, by the late Assembly's most bitter remonstrance against me, laid under a greater necessity than ever to clear myself, before I leave the Province, of the several unjust imputations that have been thrown on me, lest any person in those distant places to which I am to repair, and whither the Assembly's papers have been industriously transmitted, should be so far imposed on as to believe that those accusations, without any trial, have really some weight in them, which upon a trial, notwithstanding, I have no reason to doubt, but will totally disappear. I therefore humbly beseech this House, that for the rendering me the relief that is owing to the great wrongs I have sustained, they would be graciously pleased to order all those who have appeared against me, even the severest and most implacable of my enemies, whoever they be, to proceed in prosecuting me with their utmost zeal and ardour, that the very worst of my failings in public affairs may be drawn in the most legible characters, and exposed without mercy to the eyes of all men, to the end that in beholding them they may perfectly know the full extent of my crimes, and thereupon regard me as I shall be found to deserve, and not otherwise.

But because the time of my departure now draws near, I must, therefore, further beseech the House that this prosecution may be carried on within such a convenient time as is consistent with the shortness of my intended stay; and particularly that it may not extend beyond the 12th of this month, that being the utmost, as far as I can at present judge, I shall be able to attend it, and I hope will prove a sufficient time to

dispatch all that is necessary to such a trial, within the compass of which space, I have been well assured, the Governour will be ready, on his part, to hear whatever shall be alleged against me, and as far as in him lies, give such judgment thereupon as to justice shall belong. And I do further earnestly request the House, that they will be pleased to order, that speedily as may be, I may have full copies of all the petitions that have been exhibited against me to any of the past Assemblies, and that I may be favoured with an opportunity of comparing them with the originals for your special favour; in all which your humble petitioner shall, as in duty bound, &c. JAMES LOGAN.

November the 16th, 1709.

The petition of James Logan being again read and debated, the House came to the following resolution thereupon, N. C. D.:

1st. *Resolved*, That forasmuch as it does not appear by the minutes of the former Assembly, by whom the Secretary was impeached, that he had put in any answer to the particular charges, that, therefore, it is the opinion of this House that the said James Logan do forthwith lay before this Assembly his particular answer to every charge contained in the said Articles of Impeachment.

2d. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this House that if the said James Logan refuses or neglects to bring in his answer as aforesaid, within six days now next ensuing, this House will then take the matter of charge, so refused or neglected to be answered, as confessed by the said Logan, and shall proceed against him accordingly.

3d. *Resolved*, That if the said James Logan do bring in his answer in manner aforesaid, the House will then transmit the proofs to the Governour, be ready to attend him to prosecute the said James Logan effectually, when he pleases to proceed judicially upon the said impeachments, which the Governour is earnestly desired to do with all possible speed.

Ordered, That William Smith, Robert Heaton, and Peter Rambo, do wait upon the Governour when he comes to town, and acquaint him that the Secretary has sent a petition to the House desiring that the Assembly will make provision to bring him to trial upon the articles formerly exhibited against him, which the House being very desirous have come to certain resolves thereupon, a copy whereof they are ordered to deliver him accordingly.

November 21st, 1709. The persons appointed to deliver the Resolves of the House on the 16th instant to the Governour, reporting to the House that the Governour is not yet come to town,

Ordered, That a copy of the said Resolves of the House on the 16th instant, with the order thereupon, be delivered to the Secretary, requiring his compliance with the said Resolves without delay.

Signed by order of the House, N. C. D.

DAVID LLOYD, Speaker.[1]

To the Honourable Charles Gookin, Esq., Lieutenant-Governour of the Province of Pensilvania, and Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware.

May it please the Governour:

The Members of Assembly of this Province having met together on the 24th and 25th of this instant, imagining that in some part of my complaint against their proceedings towards me, I had cast some reflections on their House, came to certain resolves among themselves, of which I have received a copy, that unless I would comply with their expectations, which, being unjust in themselves, I can never submit to, I should be committed prisoner to the county gaol of Philadelphia,

[1] [A copy of the warrant for the arrest of *James Logan*, dated November 25, 1709, signed by David Lloyd, Speaker, and directed to Peter Evans, Esq., Sheriff, may be found in 2 Proud, 40; also a copy of Gookin's order of 28th 9br, 1709, addressed to the Sheriff, in which he says: "Now to prevent any disorder that may arise from such undue and irregular proceedings, I do hereby require and strictly command you, the said Sheriff, that you suffer not the said *James Logan* to be any wise molested by virtue of any order or pretended order of Assembly, whatever; and in case any of the said Assembly, or others, under pretence of any authority derived from them, shall attempt to attach or molest the said *James Logan*, in his person, I do hereby command you to oppose such attachment, and that you, by all means in your power, take effectual care that the peace of our sovereign lady, the Queen, be kept, and all offenders against the same be opposed, or committed as rioters, for which this shall be your sufficient authority."

The firmness of Gookin in resisting what, under the circumstances, would have been a violation of law, happily averted a conflict between the co-ordinate branches of the Government. Proud, the historian, in commenting upon the affair, says: "The Secretary, by reason of his useful abilities and faithful services to the Proprietary, was so thoroughly fortified in both his and the Governour's esteem and confidence, that he was above the power of his opponents; he prosecuted his voyage to *England*, and with such perseverance and ability vindicated himself, and so far succeeded against the violence of the opposition, that he not only survived the storm and continued in his office, but also was afterwards President of the Province, and discharged the office with much reputation to himself and satisfaction to the public, as will hereafter appear. . . . " 2 Proud, 41. — EDITOR.]

there to continue for what term they shall please, by which they unquestionably have designed to prevent the voyage that for the better settling the Proprietor's affairs under my care I have, for many months past, as it is well known, resolved on, and am now just ready to embark in, and for putting their said design in execution they ventured to direct a warrant, signed by the Speaker, to the Sheriff of this City and said County, requiring him to take me into custody; accordingly which warrant, notwithstanding the said Sheriff knowing it to be insufficient, as I suppose, to justify him, has declined to obey. But this not being sufficient to divert them from their resolution to give me all the trouble and vexation in their power, they have since, as I am credibly informed, further resolved to assault and attack me by a force made up out of their own House. Now, may it please the Governour, seeing it was unanimously resolved in a full Council on the 24th instant, that no Assembly of this Province have any power to arrest any man, and much less one of the Governour's Council, of which for many years past I have had the honour to be a member, and that seeing they failed of meeting upon their adjournment, it was further resolved, that they cannot now regularly sit or be a House till made such by the Governour's writ or appointment; and, therefore, it was the opinion of that Board that in case they should by any authority of that House attempt to arrest either me or any other person, the Governour ought to interpose, and especially to protect such as have had the honour I have mentioned. Therefore, to prevent any loss of time so necessary to my other affairs at this important juncture of my departure, I humbly request the Governour to grant me his protection, as is aforesaid; and that he will be pleased to give such orders to the Sheriff and other officers of this City thereupon as may be necessary for preserving the peace, which cannot but be violated where such measures as they have threatened are taken. And the Governour's favour herein shall ever be duly acknowledged by

His most obedient J. L.

28th 9br, 1709.

Isaac Norris to T. Lloyd.

7th-mo. 30th, 1709.[1]

Dear Brother, T. Lloyd: . . . . . Samuel Carpenter goes passenger in this ship, and intends to see England. He is at

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.]

present unsettled; yet his friends have all hopes he will make a good man. I think he far exceeds many in good nature. . . . . I have a great deal of love for him, and hope his welfare heartily. I send James Logan a guinea, to be spent with some of my friends, as he and thee shall name. Is. Norris.

Isaac Norris to S. Lloyd and Others.

Philada., 30*th* 9*th-mo.*, 1709.[1]

Sampson Lloyd, Charles Lloyd, John Pemberton, wife and children, Uncle Crowley, with Coz. Judith, Susan and Phœbe.

Well-esteemed Friends and Relatives: — I fully thought to write to several of you by this opportunity, per James Logan, but post hastening us, and the danger the vessel may be in thereby, occasions too much hurry, and I desire your excuse and acceptance of this in general to give you our kind remembrance, dear love, and grateful return for those hearty favours we have received when with you.

I received Coz. Sampson's favour of the 6th 2d-mo. last, and shall take a time to answer it. I have sent Dr. Davis, with my respects, per James Logan, a small quantity of the snake antidote, which was sent me 150 miles. The manner of the Indians using it is to wet a little in the hand with spittle, and lay on the wound, and at the same time to give the party a little in the mouth to champ and swallow the spittle.

My wife has dear Coz. E. P.'s letter also, and is indebted. We have no alterations in our family since the marriage of Coz. Margaret, and the birth of my John, who thrives finely. All are well and have their dear loves to you. All our children are so. Molly is very healthy; has her dear love to you; and Tommy is now prating by me in my closet, and upon the question remembers his love to you also.

I cannot possible be particular to you all, as the several grateful regards and obligations I have and am under would dictate;

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.]

but love you heartily and remember your conversation with pleasure, but our distance, and the melancholy thought how difficult or improbable it is we shall ever have that happiness again, gives a damp and sorrow; but as friendship and love are not confined to place, let us mutually support and improve them as shall be the endeavour and practice of your loving kinsman and, Affectionate friend, Is. Norris.

The Speaker's Vindication against James Logan's Invectives, laid before a Committee of the Assembly, the twenty-second day of November, 1709.

This being the first opportunity I have had with you since that scandalous paper of James Logan, which he calls his Defence, was read in the House, I think it my duty to give a plain and short answer to every matter of charge advanced against me in that paper, and endeavour to shew you the falsehood and malice of my accuser:

He spends the first three paragraphs of his defence, for the most part, in reflecting upon the late Assembly's alleging that my measures or proceedings are implicitly justified in one clause of the last Remonstrance. And so he proposes to state some of those proceedings to the public; and begins, in the fourth paragraph, most falsely to suggest that I received the account of the order of the Lords Justices of England, upon the complaint of the Judge of the Admiralty, with very high indignation; a rancour, as he falsely alleges, of which the seeds had been laid ever since I lost a certain commission under Governour Blackwell, began then to break out, and as occasion offered, he pretends, I gave provocations, till the matter came entirely to a rupture.

Whereunto I answer: As to my loss of Governour Blackwell's commission, it was occasioned by my opposing some of his proceedings, which I conceived were against the rights and privileges of the people, so that my resentments were spent upon him, and not the least rancour retained against the Proprietor about it. And as to the Lords Justices order, I do solemnly declare that I never was guilty of any such contempt as the Secretary most maliciously mentions; and if the words that I expressed were so strained, it was because I had not the opportunity to give my meaning upon them, which is a right due to all advocates for what they in a zeal for their clients may unadvisedly or acci-

dentally drop in the course of their pleadings. As it happened to me in that case, while I was earnestly asserting the rights and jurisdiction of the Proprietary's Courts of Common Law, not meddling with the regal authority; and so far from opposing the powers of the Admiralty, that I declared myself ready, and so have been upon all occasions, according to the best of my abilities, to assist in such matters as properly pertain to their jurisdiction. Therefore I think this part of the charge not so seasonably advanced, especially by the Secretary, because he lately made a very bold attempt upon the Admiralty. Witness his endeavours to prevail with the present Governour to exert his authority for the discharge of the seizure of Gibbs' vessel before trial.

I would demonstrate in what method the Proprietary made me acquainted with the said order, and how the Judge of the Admiralty was stirred to move against me, after I declared my opinion in Council upon surrendering the Charter of Privileges; but shall at present waive it, assuring you that I received the commands of the Lords Justices without the least resentment or hard thought of the Proprietary; tho' I am sensible that his Secretary has not been wanting ever since to render the discharge of my duty in the course of my practice, as well as my actings for the public, but as so many occasions offered to give provocations, and exert my resentments to serve as a general depository of the ill and disaffected humours of the Government, as he in this part of his charge most falsely suggests; but since he has not reduced it to more certainty, nor given any particular instance to support his charges, I shall take it but as some of the overflowings of his gall, and return it as a false insinuation, which he invented purposely to asperse.

But he proceeds to say that, as often as the Assembly sat, I was not idle with them, though none of their number; and in the last the Proprietary held, I was, as he most falsely suggests, most active in diffusing those humours; and to make that out, he pretends to be largely informed that I drew up a list of complaints against him in particular by name, but generally levelled against the Proprietor himself, which he most falsely suggests, I endeavoured to obtrude on a committee then sitting at Anthony Morris', but could by no means prevail or obtain my end.

To this I answer: That I never busied myself with those Assemblies when I was not one of them; but I remember that John Moore and myself, at the special instance of the Assembly held by the Proprietary at New Castle, went there in the year 1700, and was ready to serve them to the best of my ability; and so I was requested by the ensuing Assembly at Philadelphia, in 1701, to assist in drawing several

bills; and I was one of the ten that were appointed by about sixty of the freeholders and inhabitants of this City to attend that Assembly with a certain Address, subscribed by seventy odd of the said inhabitants, in behalf of themselves and others, which we presented to the Assembly, who referred it to a committee that sat at Anthony Morris', and reported the same; a true copy of which Address and Report is hereunto annexed, to prove the falsehood of the Secretary's allegation on this head.[1]

In the next place, he charges me with spreading false reports among the people, especially in Chester County, insomuch that there was an entire stop put to the payment of the public tax until Andrew Job, the then Collector of it, came up to Philadelphia to receive proofs of the falsehood of those reports to render the people easy.

I remember that Andrew Job came to me at Chester, in the year 1700, or the beginning of 1701, and demanded my proportion of the £2,000 tax granted to the Proprietary, by a law then lately made at New Castle. I objected that, since the Act of Union was not in force, and no grant produced from the Crown for the Government of the Lower Counties, I was not willing to pay that tax, or words to this effect, but shewed him effects enough to distrain upon. It is well known I was not singular in this objection. The Assembly who made the law so far doubted of their authority to act there, that they once resolved, as I was told by some of them, to adjourn here, to pass what was agreed on below. However, the people were not rendered easy to pay that tax-bill. The law was confirmed at Philadelphia, in October, 1701, since which I remember no objection made but by those who could not get allowances upon resurveys, as the law directed, nor confirmations of their legal and equitable claims to their lands and estates, being the consideration for which that tax was granted. And if James Logan can make appear that I raised or spread reports concerning that tax to any other effect than I have above mentioned, let him produce his proofs, or stand recorded for a false accuser.

In the conclusion of this paragraph he charges me with opposing Colonel Hamilton's commission before the Justices of Bucks County, denying his authority as our Lieutenant-Governour, affirming in direct terms, that he could not be our Governour because a Scotchman.

I positively declare, that I remember no such objection by me. But Colonel Hamilton's want of the Queen's approbation was a general objection, which I suppose might be made by me as well as others,

[1] [No copy of this, or any other paper is appended to this "vindication."—EDITOR.]

because the statute of the 7th and 8th of William III. required it as a necessary qualification for such Governours.

In the 5th paragraph he undertakes to relate some of my expressions in Assembly, when he and others brought messages from the Governour. He pretends that I replied to the first, with some resentment, that the Governour ought not to oppose the minds of the Assembly, with other expressions of dissatisfaction, which he does not mention. I can't remember that I expressed any such words; and if I had, I was under the correction of that House.

The next message I find he came upon was to desire a committee of the Assembly might be appointed to confer with a committee of the Council concerning those things which the Governour had laid before the House that day, which was the subject of his first message. And my answer was that the House would consider of it, as appears by the Journal. But James Logan says, that without taking any notice of his message, I answered that the House had other matters under consideration. They were considering whether they could own the Governour's commission, or act in conjunction with him. And after he makes his discants upon the answer, he undertakes to say that there was then no such debate, nothing like it under the House's consideration. I am glad there is so many of this Assembly that were then present, who know as well as I the fallacy and falsehood of this suggestion, as James Logan states it; for it 's very clear that that Assembly had before that message often debated that part of the Governour's commission relating to his calling, proroguing, and dissolving of Assemblies, and the Proprietor saving to himself a final assent to the laws passed by his deputy, and were resolved to have it settled before they would proceed to much business, especially to raise money upon the country, as plainly appears by the Journal of the House. The residue of this paragraph being, as it seems, designed by the Secretary to excuse himself for inserting such clauses in the Governour's commission as were against the fundamental Constitutions of this Government, is a plain demonstration that he acts the part of an evil minister, by throwing the odium of that unwarrantable commission upon his master, who upon the surrender of the second Charter most faithfully and solemnly promised that the people should enjoy all the rights and privileges granted by that Charter, till another, better adapted to their circumstances, could be prepared.

In the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth paragraphs he declaims against the Representation to the Proprietary ordered to be drawn the 26th of August, 1704, rendering it, and that Assembly, as vile as malice could invent, most falsely suggesting that I drew the said Representation

of myself without the concurrence of the rest, stuffing it with all the abusive inferences and applications, as well as false charges, that I could draw or form by the grossest perversions; that I did not confer with any of those who by order of the House were, as he says, equally empowered with me till after the draft was perfected. Now, before I proceed further, I shall give you a faithful and true account, to the best of my knowledge, how the said Assembly came to recollect those transactions comprised in the said Representation and bring them down to that time. It appears by the Journal of the House, that tho' the people of this Province had paid dear for their lands, and had come under a perpetual rent, raised great sums of money for the Proprietary, and made him a country at their own charge, yet they were rendered so very ungrateful as if they had done nothing for him, but suffered him to exhaust his own estate in defence of the public, without recompense, and much more to the same effect. But that which most of all moved the Assembly was to see the then Lieutenant-Governour's commission so contrary to all the charters which the Proprietary had granted, and the Governour still insisting upon the power of prorogation and dissolution of Assemblies, and refusing to concur with the Assembly in what they most reasonably proposed for the better establishment and confirmation of their rights, liberties, franchises and properties, referring them to the Proprietary's own result in those points, leaving the country to languish under the oppressions and exactions of officers, and this town to be overrun with disorders in alehouses, and taverns, while James Logan and his instruments were squeezing eight pounds apiece for licensing of them, and those licenses granted contrary to the express directions of the Charter of Privileges, and no hopes of reformation; but the Proprietary having countermanded the sealing of the Charter of Property, which he had signed at New Castle, and like to surrender the Government upon terms which the people knew nothing of; — I say these, with many more inducements, which might be mentioned, brought that Assembly under a necessity to make the said Representation.

In the next place he insinuates that when the whole Representation was fairly drawn, and the year that Assembly had been elected for was expired, and an election for a new one made, I brought it, as he says, not yet signed, to some of the rest, who refused to be concerned or take the least notice of it, being out of time, and no due regard had to the order of the House that had appointed them. And then he goes on most falsely to suggest that I signed it in the name of the Assembly, without their knowledge or the least of their approbation.

These passages I positively deny to be true, in manner as James Logan states them; but the truth of the matter is thus, so far as I can recollect: the irregularities and abuses which then overflowed this Government both in State and property, and the dismal effects which the generality of the Assembly saw would be the consequence of a surrender, since they were so disappointed under that administration, where they had reason to conclude, from solemn grants and promises, that they had a right to expect a ready concurrence to the confirmation of their rights, privileges, and properties, did put them upon making a representation to the Proprietary, which, on the 25th of August, 1704, was ordered to be prepared by me in conjunction with two other members, in which Representation we were expressly and unanimously directed to deal plainly with the Proprietary concerning the privileges and immunities he promised the people of this Province, and how inconsistent and repugnant thereunto was his commission to his deputy, as well as his former orders and proceedings in the administration of this Government; and how the people were wronged and deprived of those privileges, and injured in their properties; and what inconveniences had happened by occasion of the Proprietary's not passing the Bill of Fees, in 1701; and seeing there was not time to finish it before the adjournment, I collected, as near as I could, the sense of the House concerning the particulars, which were to be comprised in the said Representation, and brought the same to the other two members, who agreed to have it proposed to the House, which was done on the 26th of that instant, and then openly read, and after some amendments was agreed to by the House, without one negative. Whereupon it was ordered, that the Representation should be drawn up according to the said particulars, and that the members who were to peruse the minutes, being William Biles, Joseph Wilcox, Anthony Morris, Isaac Norris, Joseph Wood, Griffith Jones, and Samuel Richardson, or as many of them or others of the Assembly as could conveniently be consulted, should peruse the Representation. And then the same should be signed by me and sent to the Proprietary by the first opportunity. In pursuance of which order a rough draught of it was drawn and communicated to as many of those who were appointed as I could find at leisure or inclined to hear it. Two of them that were nominated, who were as willing as the rest to deal plainly with the Proprietary, desired to be excused, for reasons not material to be here mentioned. Another of them, and none but he, refused, tho' more than once requested to join with the others in the perusal of the said draught. Nevertheless, all the rest that were nomi-

nated, with some more of the Assembly, as opportunity presented, had the perusal and approbation of it, and when the fair draughts were finished I had five of the Assembly at the reading and examining of them before they were sent for England.

But the great objection is, that I signed some of the copies as Speaker after election made of another Assembly.

To this I answer: That, having the express order of the House for signing of the said Representation, and no succeeding Assembly made this objection, it seems now to be very unseasonable, and an evident token of the objector's malice, as well as arrogance to set up his own private opinion to censure the proceedings of the House of Representatives, as most irregular and unparliamentary, when they did no more in effect than order a letter to be drawn according to certain heads or particulars unanimously agreed on, and ordered to be signed in their behalf and sent to their landlord, whereby he might see how they had been disappointed of what he had promised them.

I would not willingly suppose that James Logan is so fond of his beloved Machiavel and those high flown statesmen, from whose pernicious rules he seems to take his measures in Government; but that he casts an eye sometimes upon the proceedings of English Parliaments, where instances are not wanting which might satisfy him, if anything that is parliamentary could do it, that the methods here taken are not so irregular as he would represent them. But such is his aversion to a well-tempered authority, and the violence of his inclination to a despotic power, that he has not been wanting to make divisions in the State influencing the law administration of this Government to favour or connive at such things as had a tendency to oppress the people, violate their charters, deny them of their rights and leave them without redress. And when the Assembly found that those public grievances were multiplied, and no likelihood of relief in this Province while James Logan was so near the helm, they resolved to lay their complaints before the Proprietary in England, and for that purpose was the said Representation drawn and sent to George Whitehead, William Mead, and Thomas Lower, upon whose moderation towards the Proprietary, in exerting their endeavours for the common good and service of this Province, we entirely depended, not doubting of their tender regards to the honour of his and their profession, as well as to the justice of the cause in every step they made for that end. But this James Logan, the accuser of the brethren, in his scurrilous paper renders two of them the most disaffected to the Proprietary, upon an old difference of any of their profession in England. And in another paragraph, where he

takes occasion to mention them again, tho' 'tis well known that they stand in the nearest and best relation to the generality of the people of this Province, and are most tenderly and conscientiously concerned for the welfare and prosperity of all, as they have largely demonstrated, yet he calls them strangers to whom this Province stands in no relation, pitched upon principally because two of them are well known to be the Proprietary's adversaries. And thus you see he cannot be contented to abuse the people and their representatives here, but must throw his venom at those worthy and honorable persons in England, because they were desired by the Assembly to put the Proprietary in mind of his promises and duty to the people, whom the Crown of England had committed to his care and protection.

In the tenth, and some other paragraphs, he suggests, that the next Assembly after the said Representation was sent for England, condemned it, which is a most notorious falsehood. But the real truth of the matter is thus: when report was made to that Assembly concerning the Representation, it was generally approved, but some of the members objected against the word "treachery," and some other expressions, which might be reduced to more softness and not alter the substance of the matter, which none of them denied; and if they had, I was ready to take it upon myself to prove. Nor did those that made the objection gainsay the matters of fact, but declared that they were sorry that there was so much occasion for those complaints; and the Assembly, understanding that the person who had copies of the said Representation was put into New York, ordered that the copies which he had should be sent for, in order to be further considered by the House; but if those copies could not be had, then the House would enter upon the debate of the matter of the said Representation, in pursuance whereof I sent a letter for the said copies; but the Assembly being not willing that the said Representation should be exposed to public view, unless the Proprietary denied or delayed redress, ordered that no copies thereof should be given without their particular order for that purpose. However, they allowed that such as desired the perusal thereof might have it.

In the eleventh paragraph James Logan says, he cannot affirm whether my letter was delivered or not; but he undertakes to tell me the contents of another letter, which he says I sent to the same person. When I see it I'll believe him, and not till then. However, he affirms that the bearer of my pacquets being taken into France in his passage home, lost them all, and a friend of the Proprietary's, who happened to be a fellow-prisoner in the same place, meeting with them after they

had been opened by the enemy, carefully picked them up, and got leave to carry them to England. So that he says all the letters I had wrote relating to this affair by that conveyance, were delivered into the Proprietary's own hands.

Now the question is, how they came to James Logan's hands, for there he would make believe they are. He sent us a copy of one that accompanied the Representation, which he alleges to be my particular letter to the said George Whitehead, William Mead, and Thomas Lower. If so, then the next question is, did any of those persons send that letter to James Logan? No! he does not pretend it. Then what follows but that he would force a conclusion that the Proprietary, instead of delivering the said letter to his friends and neighbours to whom it was directed, had sent it over here, which is such an imputation as few besides James Logan would cast upon him. It may be James deems the intercepting of letters to be no crime, looking upon it, perhaps, as an accomplishment to a secretary, or rather an incendiary and sower of discord, as he has been since he came into this Province, by indirect means to pry into other people's business, being much addicted to a misdemeanour called eavesdropping, and very active in Assembly times to know the secrets of their debates, and for that end he has prevailed upon some of the members to violate their engagements to secrecy, and took his opportunities to listen what was said, that he might carry it to his master.

In the twelfth paragraph, having repeated his false assertion about the Assembly's disowning and condemning the said Representation, he takes notice of another new Remonstrance to the Proprietary, sent to the same persons, wherein was a marginal note of reference, in words to this effect, wrote in my hand [see the Representation in 1704], which he most falsely suggests to be my indirect method to have it thought that what was my proper act alone had been actually recognized as the Act of Assembly.

To this I answer: That there was no Remonstrance sent to the Proprietary till that of the 10th of June, 1707, which takes express notice of the said Representation in these words, viz.: "That the Assembly, which dates here on the 26th of the 6th-month, 1704, agreed upon certain heads or particulars, which according to the order of that day were drawn up in a Representation, and was signed by the Speaker and sent thee by a passenger in John Guy's brigantine who was taken into France, from whence the same Representation was conveyed to thy hands, whereby thou art put in mind upon what score the purchasers and first adventurers embarked with thee to plant this Colony,

and what grants and promises thou made, and the assurance and expectations thou gave them and the rest of the settlers and inhabitants of this Province to enjoy the privileges derived from thy own grants and concessions, besides the rights and freedoms of England; but how they were disappointed in several respects appears in part by the said representation, to which we refer, and becoming supplicants for relief, not only in matters here complained of, which are not yet redressed, but also in things then omitted, as well as what have been lately transacted, to the grievous oppression of the Queen's subjects and public scandal of this Government." And so they proceed to set forth their particular grievances.

But I find in an address from the Assembly met the 4th of 10br, 1706, to the Proprietary, complaining of grievances formerly represented and not redressed, putting him in mind of the great privileges he promised, as well to the first adventurers as the later purchasers and inhabitants of this Province, which have been diminished far below what the people of New England and other Colonies are vested with, and short of what we might have enjoyed in the Realm of England, the ways and means that have been used to reduce the Constitutions of this Government to so precarious a state, had been thentofore particularly demonstrated by representations and otherwise, which that Assembly earnestly recommended to the Proprietary's serious consideration, desiring redress of the grievances formerly complained of, as well as what they then remonstrated. And so they proceed to the particulars of their additional complaints.

Now if there was such a marginal note as James Logan pretends, it must be in this address, for the Remonstrance had no need of it. Then let the impartial consider what offence was it to make a reference to the Representation in 1704, being it preceded that address, which did but briefly mention the former complaints whereby their agents might understand what remained unredressed.

In the thirteenth paragraph, after he repeats his reflection upon those good men to whom the Representation was sent, and that no copy of it could be got, he says, that from the account given by those who heard it read in the Assembly that condemned it, as he falsely affirms, great dissatisfaction being raised among the people in the year 1705, an address to the Proprietary was drawn up and signed by all of the same profession in Council (except himself), by divers members of Assembly, and several hundreds of others, in which address they entirely disowned the Remonstrance to be any act of theirs, or to have been done with their knowledge or approbation.

In answer to this, I shewed already that the Assembly refused copies of the said Representation, because they were not willing it should be exposed to public view unless the Proprietary denied or delayed redress. But instead of redress he sent a very angry letter grounded upon the information of such as most wickedly and falsely represented the proceedings of that Assembly, and it 's very probable that the same hands that so informed the Proprietary might raise dissatisfaction among the people, from the account given by those who heard the said Representation read, and so fall upon drawing an address to the Proprietary, as it was done in answer to his said letter. 'Tis true, by the first part of the address, the subscribers were made to say that they utterly disowned the proceeding in and concerning that written instrument sent home with R. B.; by which, I suppose, is meant the said Representation. And yet at the same time they addressed the Proprietary for the same things in effect as the Assembly did; for by the address they hope and desire that the Proprietary will never be against making such provision here by law as may consist with our faith and allegiance to the Queen, the fidelity and lawful interest of the Proprietor, and the good and well-being of the inhabitants of this place in general. So they think it reasonable that the Government should be supported with suitable supplies, and that they hoped to enjoy those charteral privileges and laws he had left them under; and that he would consent to such other reasonable laws from time to time, as may be needful for the good of the place, and hoped if there were anything in our charters or laws that want explanation that he would comply with it; and then they take notice of his surrendering the Government, but desired he would not be unmindful of us here, as our neighbour's Proprietors seem to have been of them; but that he would endeavour to the utmost (according to what in effect he had expressed when he left us) to procure such terms by some public instrument as may secure to us our charters, laws, and liberty of conscience, and that Friends may not be liable to be left incapable to serve the Government because of the oath.

And if an union of the Province and Lower Counties should be again, under another establishment, unless he reserved to himself his patent Proprietary power of making counties and corporations and settle delegates therein, Friends might be rendered wholly useless by being outvoted through settling additional members by contrivances; all which they believed the Proprietary was sensible of. But lest some of these things should not be in his mind occasioned[1] those heads, and that which was dissatisfactory here was that they could not hear that our laws, or any of them, were passed, though they were long ago

[1] [So in the original. — EDITOR.]

informed that they were laid before the Privy Council. They desired that he would be pleased to favour them with a few lines as soon as possible upon that head, &c.; and that the great charge the Proprietary had been at on this country's account, as he had often complained of, might be evidently made so to appear as might induce all well-wishers to him and this Government the more readily to support it; and more to the same purpose, as the Assembly had in other terms insisted upon. Therefore I can't perceive what the design of this address could be; but I very well know that the consequence has been very pernicious to the public weal and tranquillity of this Province, and so far as it could be deemed tumultuous and had a tendency to set the Proprietary against the people, and them against their Representatives, and one friend and neighbour against another, and amuse those who sought for our relief, it gratified James Logan and answered his end most effectually.

In the fourteenth paragraph he says the Assembly Minutes were interlined in my own hand, and that there are nine articles inserted which several of the members neither can remember nor believe were read in the House; and after he throws divers reflections upon that Assembly, he refers to the genuine foul Minutes of that day.

As to those foul Minutes I have them not, nor do I remember that I ever saw them since they were, by order of the Assembly, transcribed in the Journal, and examined by the committee appointed for that purpose; but I have found the very first draught of the nine particulars comprised in the said Representation, as the same were read, amended, and agreed to by the House, and afterwards inserted in the Journal, where they, with the votes and orders relating thereto, remain without any interlineation of mine, as most plainly appears.

The fifteenth paragraph being but a kind of conclusion to the most false and sophistical premises as the wit and malice of James Logan could contrive, I see no necessity to make any further answer thereto; and as to what he subjoins, most falsely and scandalously insinuating as if the making and sending the said Representation (which has been so as above said approved of by several Assemblies) was a means of engaging the people in a kind of war against their rightful Governour, I shall leave to a more public censure than I am capable to give it. But as to his allegation that I worked up the Minutes to answer my purposes, I positively deny, and appeal to all of you who have had experience of my integrity in the discharge of my duty and trust as a Representative, as well in those particular services which the Assemblies have requested of me from time to time in relation to the rectify-

ing and modelling the Minutes, or in any other thing that I was capable to perform.

And as to his opinion, that the Minutes ought to be accounted sacred and kept in impartial hands for the justification of all the members, and satisfaction of the whole people, I know nobody gainsays it, and the Minutes or Journals were never in my custody but by the express order of the Assemblies whereof I have been Speaker; and I have never heard any member suspected my faithfulness in that respect. I suppose this is but a late opinion taken up by the Secretary, or else intended for the observation of others and not himself, for if he had looked upon either Minutes or records (which are things of a higher dignity) to be sacred, he would not of his own authority presume to cancel patents and vacate some, and alter other records or grants of record in the Rolls office, as he had done, and raze the name of one of the judges out of a commission for holding the Provincial Courts granted by the Proprietary under his hand and Great Seal of this Province, dated the 10th day of April, 1700, and put in another name instead of that he had razed out, as he did when the Proprietary was actually out of the Province; which, being discovered by the Judges, they could not proceed upon that forged commission, which put an entire stop to the whole business of that Provincial Court.

In the sixteenth paragraph he again reflects upon George Whitehead, William Mead, and Thomas Lower, calling them the Proprietary's adversaries; and then he goes on descanting upon that letter to them, which he pretends, but I cannot allow, to be mine, before I see the original. However, if it be admitted that the passages here insisted on are in any letter of mine, I see no cause to decline defending them; for as to the Governour's proclamation about oaths, it was generally understood to be as extensive as the Queen's order. I sent to the Secretary's office for a copy of it, but his man John sent me a rough draught of a proclamation in the Secretary's own handwriting to establish a militia, instead of that about oaths; and if I had represented that Friends were shut out, does not the address in 1705 say as much? And did not the Secretary rank him that was Chief-Justice of the Province among the vilest of men who came into that station when some of the Churchmen refused to serve; and those called Quakers by the construction put on the Queen's order were rendered incapable. And if I had undertaken to give an expectation of £100 of the public money, to those three men, I had good authority for it; and if I had given encouragement to obtain a Chief-Justice with the Queen's commission, I am well warranted by law so to do. And it was the

Assembly's proposal to the Proprietary, by the above-mentioned Representation, that a man learned in the laws of England might be commissioned by the Queen to determine all matters wherein his tenants have just cause of complaint against him, his deputies, or commissioners; or else, restore the people to the privilege of electing judges, &c., according to the direction of the first Charter, and as the people of New England have by King William's Charter. And if I have wrote anything that is distasteful to Judge Mompesson, when I see his power to James Logan to call me to account for it, I 'll answer it.

And as to what is said in the seventeenth paragraph concerning Philip Ford, I shall only say, that if the Proprietary or any other had applied to me for advice or assistance in any law-suit, I should have done as much for them as I have done for Ford; and if he has done ill by the Proprietary, I wish his successor, James Logan, may not do the like. I am sure that Ford seemed to be a better friend than James has been to this country, save only his concealment of that incumbrance which he had upon the Province; and let James Logan say what he will, I have been as ready as any one of my ability to contribute towards the clearing of that incumbrance.

And now, having taken notice of all that I supposed to be designed as matters of charge against me in particular, I beg your patience to hear my proofs and vouchers herewith produced to maintain what I have asserted, and to avoid what I am charged with; and I doubt not but upon your consideration of the whole matter, the malignity and falsehood of James Logan will most manifestly appear, not only towards me, and some other particulars, but the representative body of the people of this Province, whose members he has slandered, and most wickedly reproached, and whose proceedings he has treated with very great indignity, as you will see by his paper herewith laid before you.

By me, DAVID LLOYD.

May it please the House:

The above written vindication being, according to the order of the House, referred to the examination of this Committee, was read and maturely considered, and upon hearing the proofs and vouchers produced by the above-named David Lloyd, this Committee thought fit to send for James Logan, requiring him to bring what proofs he had or could procure to make good the matters of charge contained in his paper directed to the House of Representatives, October the 19th, 1709, whereunto the said vindication is in part an answer; but the said James

Logan refusing to produce any proofs at all, this Committee came to these following resolves, N. C. D.

1st. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this Committee that the said vindication is for the most part supported with undeniable proofs and vouchers, and the rest of it upon very probable circumstances and presumptions.

2d. *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the said James Logan's paper, so as aforesaid directed to the House of Representatives, is a most false and scandalous libel, reproaching several good members of the said House, and aspersing and contemning the authority, power, and proceedings of the representative body of the people of this Province in Assemblies.

All which, being ordered by the Committee to be reported specially, is left to the wisdom and justice of the House to consider of as to them shall seem meet.

Signed by order of the Committee, this 25th of 9br, 1709.

FRANCIS COOK, *Chairman.*

Which said Report and Resolves of the Committee being agreed to by the House, N. C. D., it is ordered that an Address be forthwith prepared and presented to the Governour, together with the said Vindication and Resolves.

Signed by order of the House, this 25th of 9br, 1709, N. C. D.

DAVID LLOYD, *Speaker.*

[A perusal of this paper will not, we apprehend, acquit Lloyd of the serious charge urged against him by Logan of having interpolated the Journal of the House with reference to the alleged action upon the celebrated Remonstrance of 1704, to which several allusions are made in this and in the first volume of the Correspondence. Norris's statements, if Logan's were not, are sufficient to place Lloyd's conduct in a very reprehensible light. Lloyd was a man of undoubted talents, but was the leader of the disaffected, a party opposed to the Proprietor's interests, and who, enjoying as much freedom as fell to the lot of any of the inhabitants of the Colonies or Provinces, and more than was the share of some, sighed because they did not possess more. The people were not oppressed. Lloyd in his conduct had a purpose to gain. His followers were misled by him, and, to sum up the question, were rather intoxicated with a sense of freedom than deprived in any reasonable degree of its enjoyment. —EDITOR.]

Isaac Norris to William Penn.

Philada., *2d* 10*br*, 1709.

Honoured Governour: — Upon my first arrival here I wrote to thee, viz., the 6th 7br, 1708, which I feared miscarried, as several did which I sent by the Virginia fleet then bound that way. I now salute thee with much duty and affection, with thy good wife, in which my wife joins heartily, often gratefully remembering the many extraordinary civilities and favours received from you when there, as well as thy kind son and daughter Aubrey, to whom also is our very kind love.

The hurry I have been put in by getting this ship away, for fear of the ice, makes me unfit to address thee at this time; but considering[1] who goes with it, I could not have chosen a better opportunity to say a little of public affairs.

Our Governour meets with great discouragements from the Assembly. His honesty and plainness, as well as good intentions, work too little on them; a strange, unaccountable humour, almost become a custom now, and straining and resenting everything, of creating monsters and then combating them. I think too much prevails when such a collective body with whom business ought to be done, that should look at solids and substantials, set up for witty critics upon everything that is said or done, and grow voluminous, always remonstrating, and valuing the last word highly, I see no room to expect much effectual business. The air of grandeur and sacred care for the honour and dignity of the House, that runs through everything, is too visible, and the secret pride thereof too plainly appears, even in the great pretensions to and professions of mean and despicable thoughts of themselves . . . . . The height things are come to between the Secretary and the House,[2] their manner of treating the Council, the authority the Speaker has assumed

[1] James Logan. — L.

[2] Proud has preserved the petition of the Secretary to the House of Representatives, praying for a trial before his departure. Vol. II. p. 39. — L.

of granting a warrant,[1] will all come fully to thy knowledge, so that I entreat leave to conclude with true love and due regard,

Thy much obliged friend,

Is. Norris.

[1] On the 25th 9br, 1709, the warrant is dated directed to Peter Evans, Esq., High Sheriff of the City and County of Philadelphia, and signed by David Lloyd, as Speaker of the Assembly, charging the Sheriff to take James Logan into his custody, and to safely detain him in the County gaol of our Lady the Queen, until he shall willingly make his submission to the satisfaction of this House. The preamble sets forth that "the House of Representatives did yesterday adjudge James Logan, for his offence in reflecting on sundry Members of the House in particular, and the whole House in general, charging the proceedings of this Assembly with unfairness and injustice." There is among the papers at Stenton, James Logan's Justification, endorsed on the back of it, "Left in Pennsylvania;" and adds, "What relates to David Lloyd in this was laid by James Logan before the House the 19th of October, 1709, but they took no notice of it, till the Speaker thirty-two days after presented his Vindication, and then they called on J. L. for his proofs, when the ship he was to go in was ready to sail." This paper, too long to be inserted here, consists of twenty-four closely written pages, and is a refutation of all the charges which had been made against the Secretary, I think a triumphant refutation, as it likewise is of the statement made in the historical refutation, as it likewise is of the statement made in the "Historical Review" of these proceedings. It contains a full exposition of the conduct of the Speaker, David Lloyd, both in respect to the remonstrance of 1704, already mentioned, and in his letter to W. M. and others; but also in his interlining the Minutes of the House to effect his own purposes; and challenges the Speaker to produce the original Minutes, which will prove the assertion. James Logan also replies to the fourteen articles brought against himself very fully, and says, the bitterest of his enemies had never dared to tax him with the least shadow of corruption in any case whatsoever. He also calls on his adversaries to make the severest scrutiny into his conduct, and to stage all the false steps he has made for nine years past in relation to the public, and prosecute them with the utmost rigour, and he will undertake that they shall be heard, and have justice, if they will appear and designate the particular wrongs they have suffered. He complains of not having been brought to a public trial by the Assembly. This Justification was presented to the Governour September 29th, 1709, and a copy left with Isaac Norris upon the Secretary's departure.*— L.

*[This document will be found at page 360. — Editor.]

James Logan to a Friend.[1]

. . . . . I cannot hereupon, tho' I would willingly hope better things, forbear observing that ever since the year 1710, having very early that Spring been taken into France, in my intended passage from Lisbon to Falmouth, in a pacquet, from whence I got to London, about the latter end of March. I had an opportunity in both kingdoms of seeing the dispositions of the people, and from what I heard, and from sufficient curiosity observed in first, I was as fully assured as I could be of any purpose, not absolutely carried into fact, that their King, on sending his Plenipotentiaries to Gertruydenberg, for which they set out when I was there, had given them positive orders to agree in the best manner they could to that only article he had excepted against of thirty-eight or thirty-nine preliminaries concluded the preceding year, by De Torcey, with those of the Confederates, at the Hague, which was that he should himself oblige his grandson, Philip, to quit and renounce the Crown of Spain; and from hence, on my arrival in England, I could but consider the peace as good as concluded. But behold, instead of this happy event, which might for ages to come have secured the public repose, a Sacheverel was brought on the stage, and from hence by the deep, intriguing craft of some, and the superstition of others a most weak woman, then unhappily deprived of that support to which she owed all her former appearing and steadiness, the Prince her husband was prevailed on to change the most able Ministry that England had ever been blessed with since it was a kingdom, Godolphin, Marlborough, Halifax, Somers, Wharton, &c.,

[1] In the latter end of the year 1709 James Logan went to England, which of course occasions a chasm in the Correspondence with the Proprietor, to obviate which, and to continue the narration of affairs in Pennsylvania, I shall insert a few of my grandfather Isaac Norris' letters, some of which are peculiarly appropriate, as having been addressed to James Logan himself, during his visit abroad, and giving details of the proceedings of the Government. I can find no notes nor memoranda of his own, relative to the time he was abroad, but the foregoing allusions to it, in a letter written many years afterwards, appear to me to merit preservation. — L.

[Mrs. Logan does not state the date of this letter, if it was dated, nor to whom addressed. — Editor.]

&c., for a pack of . . . . . &c., and of this I had the unhappiness of being myself a witness, during the twenty months that I continued in and about London, in the years 1710 and 1711, attending on our Proprietor's affairs, for I returned not into this Province before March, 1712.[1]

This change, as the effects of it were the saving of the Crown of Spain to the Bourbon family, at the expense of above eighteen millions to Britain, during the three years that the war continued longer, which otherwise might have ended in three months, and been concluded with a glorious peace instead of a dishonourable one, and this I could hardly impute to anything less than a strange fatality . . . . . And observing the series of our Ministry's conduct, and particularly during the present reign, but more especially this last year, — I say, observing this, I am indeed for peace; but tho' our Prime Minister has been of weight enough to retard and disappoint the proposed operations, I much doubt whether he will be able to prevent a general war, which if it fall to our lot . . . . . .[2]

Isaac Norris to Joseph Pike, in Ireland.

[*Extract.*] Phila., 18*th* 12*th-mo.*, 1709–10.

. . . . . We have formerly thought ourselves in one of the most quiet corners of the world; and when great part of it was generally involved in war and trouble, we have enjoyed peace and plenty. The latter we, thro' the great and undeserved mercy of the Almighty, do indeed fully possess, nor has the former so nearly left us as we might expect; but for some Summers past the French have been very busy on our coasts, to the great loss of several; and this last Summer they landed and plundered a small town, at our Capes, called Lewes, and several other privateers in our bay much hurt our trade, and has occasioned great animosities among the inhabitants of this town. Those of

[1] [This, of course, means 1711–12. — Editor.]
[2] [The copy here ends abruptly. — Editor.]

the Church of England grew uneasy and unneighbourly in their expressions, because of the defenceless situation of the place. They are for a coercive law, that all may be obliged to bear arms, or else they themselves will do nothing. They manage this craftily in order to lay Friends aside in Government, the holding of it in which is extremely difficult to most Friends; and we can hardly judge which has the worst prospect, whether to hold it under such difficulties in most points, as daily fall in the way, or resign it to some men who are of no honourable principles. There are some of the Church we could be very easy with and under, but their number is so few for the many offices and places of trust, that we have reason to fear an inundation of men of loose morals and low fortunes to top it upon the industrious and sober. Could we choose our men from such a plenty as you can on your side, men of worth and honour, men of universal and generous principles, we could the more heartily resign, and readily put ourselves under them, and freely part with that darling, power, which mankind are so generally fond of. This from the enemy affects all parties, and the last Summer's intended, and then neglected, expedition against Canada, gives us but the more severe apprehensions for the ensuing Summer, if the war continues.

But I shall now take notice in some parts of what passes within ourselves as a people, which I fear will be of unhappy consequence in the Church and State. Things in the late Governour Evans's time, who is the bearer of this, ran to great height between him and the Assembly. At his first arrival, and for two years after, a niggardly and untoward temper seemed to reign in the Assembly, against the Proprietary and him, his Lieutenant, fomented and managed by the arts of some, that were either professed or secret enemies of the Proprietor. All his management, from the beginning, was nicely scanned and thence raked together everything that could be thought of, as material for remonstrances and reproaches, dressed up in the most indecent manner; and this was made a pretence, to give nothing more towards the support of Government, but starve the Deputy. At length, in the year 1705, an Assembly of another temper was chosen, who were for supporting Government, and

proceeded heartily to business, and a good understanding was upheld between the Governour and them. Many good laws were then made, £800 given the Governour, and the year ended well. The Governour, who had carried it very smoothly and handsomely till then, began to show another disposition; did some things very disgustful, especially that of the false alarm, and fell into an unhappy temper of narrowness and severity. This occasioned reflections from the other party on that Assembly, who had used their best endeavours for the public good, as aforesaid; and indeed, they themselves grew more cool in such endeavours, because of their dislike to the Governour's latter management, and so declined serving; whereupon the former set came in again, or others of the same disposition, and were now better strengthened to oppose the Governour and Government by those handles he unhappily gave them, as well as by some personal miscarriages.

Thus matters stood when he was superseded by Colonel Gookin, upon whose arrival our expectations were raised of a better understanding; but on the contrary, the same unaccountable temper remains in the Assembly, and almost the same violent measures pursued with this man at first, as with the other, tho' he declares himself willing to do anything, he can justly or honourably do, to please them and do the country service, in which I believe him sincere and hearty; and tho' he does not seem the most expert man in affairs of Government, yet I take him to be moderate, honest, and good, and might, if the fault is not our own, make us a good Governour.

This unhappy difference in State, it is to be feared, will affect the peace of the Church, one Friend opposing another, or at least many under the profession not hesitating to traduce those publicly and privately who are for a good understanding between both, and a dutiful behaviour from the people in things just and honest. Most of those sticklers in Assembly are either Keitheans,[1] or such as stand loose from Friends, who have other

[1] Persons who had seceded from the Society of Friends, as the followers of George Keith, were thus called at this time. Afterwards, when Sir William Keith endeavoured to raise a party in the Province, in his own favour, they were sarcastically called Keitheans. — L.

ends than what is penetrated into by some pretty honest, but not knowing, men. Thy acquaintance, T. Potts, is now come in, and turned statesman, and a leader, and I think a little puffed with a power he pretends to have received from some of you in Ireland, I would be glad to know who, who are acquaintance of the Governour's, and have, as he says, directed the Governour to take, and him to give advice. Certainly those who did so must have seen more of his abilities in the short time he was with you, than have been exerted here in the passing of many years.

For my own part, I often think of the frogs' petition to Jupiter, and fear it must be a Governour immediately from the Crown that must set us to rights. We are an infatuated or blind people, or the condition of our neighbours in Jersey might be a good instance to us. I have endeavoured to be short, but I see even these short hints take up room. I shall therefore, as thou desirest, say somewhat as to trade: We are at present more stocked with goods, and the vent is slower, by the great want of money, than for some years past. English goods have generally sold, if bought before the change of money, at 200 or 225 per cent., as they are sorted; but now, since the reduction of money, at 125 . . . . .

Tobacco may be had pretty suitable for Ireland, but in no great quantity, and must be bespoke to be sorted by the planter in the Fall, before they mix and pack for sale. Altho' corn has been dear in Europe, yet North America has so increased in it, and overstocked the plantations in the West Indies, that we have sold to excessive loss last year. I believe I shall not make £60 of every hundred I sent thither. Rum, &c., is sometimes so plenty and cheap here that we send quantities to Virginia and Maryland for bills of exchange, and it has hit pretty well this Winter. Only their bills have grown bad, and many that we used to account sure men, are protected by reason of the low rates of tobacco.

We have been under great concern and many fears for our friends, Thomas Story, and Jonathan Dickinson[1] and his wife, &c. They came out from Jamaica last 4th-mo., intending for this place, but we can hear nothing of them yet, and have scarce

[1] Jonathan Dickinson was originally a planter of Jamaica, a gentleman, and possessed of a good estate in that island. Both himself and

any hope left, excepting that they may have been taken and carried to some part of Europe, and from thence, is now our expectation. With true love, I must now conclude, &c.

Thy affectionate, and greatly obliged friend.

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wife were convinced of the doctrines of the people called Quakers, and determined, upon that convincement, to remove to Pennsylvania, but in their voyage thither were shipwrecked on the coast of Florida, and endured great hardships and sufferings from the savages who had captured them; all of which he has detailed in a pamphlet entitled, "God's Protecting Providence, Man's Surest Help and Defence," &c., published in Philadelphia, 1699. He settled himself in Philadelphia, where he appears to have been very cordially received, and to have entered into very firm friendships with many of the principal inhabitants. His dwelling was at this time in Front Street, on the Bank side, below Walnut Street. The house, long afterwards destroyed by fire, was for many years suffered to remain in ruins, and was known to the citizens of that day as "Dickinson's Burnt Buildings." He was a merchant of Philadelphia, and lived in a considerable style of oppulence. In the latter part of 1699 he returned to Jamaica, but left his wife and two sons in Philadelphia, to whom he soon came back. He made another voyage to that island, in which his wife accompanied him, leaving their two sons in the care of Samuel and Rachel Preston. In 1709, upon their final return to this country, their friends experienced great anxiety on their account, giving them up as lost, for they were known to have left Jamaica in the 4th-mo., 1709, and were not heard of till March, 1710, when they arrived at Antigua. They got afterwards safe to Philadelphia, where, as may be seen in Proud's History, he filled many important stations in the Government, and lived beloved and respected for many years. His wife, who was a kind and valuable woman, died before him. I believe she was a sister of Colonel Gale of Jamaica. After the Proprietor's death he bought of the Commissioners a large estate near the City, out of the Manor of Springettsbury, reluctantly sold from the family by James Logan, to pay off the incumbrance on the Province. This estate was called the "Vineyard," I conjecture from a plantation of vines which W. Penn had on part of it near the Schuylkill, under the care of a French vigneron, named Doz, mentioned in his letters to J. Harrison, at a very early period.

Jonathan Dickinson left issue, three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Jonathan, who had been shipwrecked in his infancy with his parents, married a Humes, of Rhode Island, a woman of surpassing beauty, but they had no children. After his death she intermarried with —— Redwood. Joseph Dickinson married abroad, and left one daughter, who did not conduct herself respectably. John never married. One of the daughters married Francis Jones, and left no child to survive her. The other daughter married Thomas Masters, and had only one son, who died in his infancy. There was much difficulty in settling the estate of Jonathan Dickinson. James Logan was the last surviving executor. — L.

1710.

Isaac Norris to James Logan.

[*Postscript.*] Philadelphia, 30*th* 1*st-mo.*, 1710.

It was briskly talked here that Colonel Evans is gone to seek this Government, and that James Logan is to give him assistance. He will be very ungrateful to many, even of those who may have carried it respectfully since his removal; and if thou values an interest with anybody here, do nothing towards it, but all to prevent it. The false alarm, Howston's tricking the present Governour out of a negro girl, with many other things, leaves his character too legible. I write thus free to thee as a friend — not as his — and I do assure thee I do not speak my own language only, but the opinion of those thou reckons among the Proprietor's friends.

Isaac Norris to Prudence Moore.

Philadelphia, 17*th* 2*d-mo.*, 1710.[1]

Dear Niece Prudence Moore: — I was some time since favoured with thine of the 11th Jan'y, which I take very kindly, and shall always be pleased with such a correspondence. I concernedly take notice of thy frequent illness, and the dangerous indisposition of thy good husband, but the edge is abated by the account of his recovery, and both your enjoyments of health at that time.

I rejoice to hear thou art so happy in thy choice, and pray God continue your mutual comforts, and add, if it be his pleasure, the only wanting happiness. Ours is a very fruitful country. I don't doubt but you may meet success here. Methinks it is no more trouble for thy husband and thee to make us a visit, than I understand a trip to your Bath gives, and especially if a peace happens. I could then earnestly press and beg

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.]

that favour of seeing you, when you would be extremely welcome, and I should rejoice at such an occasion to renew, or rather establish, our relative acquaintance.

I remember thee with a great deal of affection and love; not only from long prettiness and fondness when a child, but the perfect love and union that was always between my father's children, of whom thy dear mother was the eldest, and very near in affection and all offices of duty and love to each other. Our different years makes it not reasonable to expect any more from thee than a prudent respect and civil notice, as thy mother's brother, unless such an opportunity might offer, for our better acquaintance, as above, and then I cannot but judge from thy character that our affection would be reciprocal.

It is pleasing, not only to hear thou art so comfortably joined, but that there is so good an addition to keep the wolf from the door. In this country we have few or no such settled estates and constant incomes, yet want not the blessings and necessaries of life, very few things wanting, except some luxuries. As for myself, I bless the Almighty I want nothing of the useful conveniences, but live equal with my neighbours, and I desire not an abundance, but am really content and thankful for my unmerited enjoyments. I have a sweet and comfortable companion and nine children living, and the tenth, I hope, near at hand. They are promising and hopeful, — five daughters and four sons.

I thought it not amiss to say so much, and add my due regards and love to my kinsman, who has reduct thee to thy grandmother's maiden name.

With true affection, I subscribe, thy loving uncle,

Is. Norris.

Isaac Norris to James Logan.

Philadelphia, *29th 6th-mo.*, 1710.

My Friend, James Logan: — The copy of the Assembly's paper is received, and made use of, but there must certainly be somewhere a mistake in the story of thy bringing in the

Indians. None of them would be so weak and foolish to write so. They laugh at it here themselves, and say the invention gives them advantage. They have met several times, tho' with no call or allowance, and last night put into the Coffee House a *Remonstrance*, much of a piece with the rest, and also renewed that of 28th 7br, and 30th 10br, one or both, as I am told; so that I think to put in thy case, as left with me.[1] Matters begin now to work to an height, and the other interests are now warm upon a turn the next election, and not without a prospect. We are at some loss for this Town and County, some being of opinion that, exclusive of Members of Council, it will be hard to find a suitable set of such as have both ability and a good notion of what is the real benefit of the country, and at the same time knowing the popular opposition, if any such are named, cannot with that face object against them, as good and honest men, as they will colour it with that of being improper. However, we shall try for it, and doubt not of ousting several of them, if not all, were it not for the unhappy way that a man must have eight men crammed down his throat at once. And as the use of tickets is managed, a man cannot take and reject less than the whole. Our Governour grows very uneasy, I presume, much owing to his disappointment from . . . . . ,[2] but remains steady against the faction.

The trial of Captain Bride, it seems, has occasioned his disgust with the officers and Judges, and using hard expressions against them, which they, especially I. Y., seem much provoked at. I fear if his surmises and informations are groundless, as they say they are, he will exact more enemies. I shall not enter into the detail of the whole story, because it is tender, and I may be mistaken, as I fear some others are, but only observe that, the other day, when three of the Council waited on him, viz., S. C., R. I., and I. N., with Howston's brother desiring him, as had been concluded in Council, to sign the *audita querela*, he refused, appeared very angry, said he had been abused, and would trust no man for the future. I hope if Colonel Evans be with

[1] [This refers to Logan's "Justification," for which, see *ante*, p. 360. EDITOR.]

[2] [No name is given on the copy. — EDITOR.]

you, the Proprietor has made him discharge that man, and get rid of this unhandsome affair.

Thy cordial friend, ISAAC NORRIS.

Our good friend and neighbour, Ann Story, was buried ten days ago.

ISAAC NORRIS TO BENJAMIN COOLE.

[*Extract.*] PHILADA., *29th 6th-mo.*, 1710.

. . . . . We have been very quiet, this Summer, from the insults of the French. Some apprehensions we have concerning the Indians, but find all groundless upon the Governour's having a meeting, on whom I attended for one, about eighty miles back in the woods, at Susquehanna, with the chiefs of several nations of Indians, especially the Five Nations, where we settled a firm peace and friendship. IS. NORRIS.

ISAAC NORRIS TO JAMES LOGAN.

PHILADA., *12th 8br*, 1710.

MY FRIEND, JAMES LOGAN: . . . . . I am melancholy upon thy telling me what is the Proprietor's full resolve, and fear it may happen too soon now for our benefit, knowing how just a resentment he may have of the treatment he has met with from some here, and therefore would willingly have him know he has a great many friends, and some who have thought themselves under a necessity of being active to give a turn to the late current of affairs, before anything of the kind is effected, in which, tho' thou hast formerly known my opinion, yet I begin to have fears, which would be very strong, were it not for the consideration that we have but the Proprietor's life in it as it is. Upon the whole, I hope great care and discretion will be used, the people's rights and favours to them considered and examined, and particularly his friends. I can assure thee there appears a very strange alteration among the inhabitants; the eyes of many

are open to see their true interest; some that used to be warm the other way, are moderate and cool; the mask of the designers is half off, and the party not only lessened, but the stiff much down, and, it may be reasonably hoped, a prudent management in this Assembly, and moderation in their gifts or taxes, will establish them.

Thy real friend, Is. Norris.

Isaac Norris to William Penn.

Philada., 23*d* 9*br*, 1710.

My Honoured Friend: — I fear I have been so unhappy as to have all I wrote to thee since my return from England miscarry, and of late, J. Logan being on your side, I have chose not to intrude but through him. However, the obligations thy favours and friendship have always laid me under, remain strong, and I crave leave now to address thee with much duty and love.

Thine directed to Edward Shippen and me, dated the . . . . , with the enclosed copy of thy welcome expostulatory letter[1] to thy friends and the people here, of the 29th 4th-month, came to hand by the pacquet-boat, three days since. Several of thy good friends have already seen it, and are extremely pleased therewith. It is so consolatory to thy friends; so tender and soft, where it touches others, and suitable to the present posture of affairs here, that we think it cannot be too public, notwithstanding the contenders may perhaps cavil, and to-morrow being our monthly meeting, shall consider the properest method to make it so. Had it happily arrived before the election, it might have facilitated the work, and been some support to Friends, under the exercise which seemed to fall on several with more than usual weight, who, contrary to their inclinations for mobbish contests, resolutely stemmed the insolent assurances some seemed to have that they could not be laid aside. Sure, an over-

[1] [This remarkable and eloquent letter may be found in the 2d vol. of Proud's History, p. 45. — Editor.]

ruling Hand directed that our thoughts and steps here should be so answerable to thine there, and I heartily pray the Providential Hand which governs all, may more particularly influence here, and direct us to peace, duty, moderation, and right things.

I have, by the last fleet, advised James Logan that there is throughout a new set gained, by a great majority. I sent him some papers that passed here previous to the election, viz., The printed "Friendly Advice," &c., their answer, and "An Hasty Reply."

29th 9br, 1710.

I had wrote the other side, when I understood another post would reach the pacquet, and also that Young was in the river; therefore broke off at that time, and now go on.

The original, under cover, of thy tender and affectionate letter to Friends here is now come, and has been read and kindly received, but refer thee to a joint letter intended; only take notice that thou hast received some from me and thy kind noting of it.

The eyes of many are opened of late to see the artifices and false colours of designing men, and that the great pretence to public good hardly covers private spleen. The misled grow more moderate, and the leaders somewhat down, and I hope the present Assembly will be so cautious and prudent as to give the people no occasion to raise them again. They will, to be sure, be very watchful; but I hope the tables will be turned, if the quarrel must continue, and theirs be against our skill, not integrity, the reverse of ours. We shall be at a loss for want of helps, in point of law, &c.; but our case about the affirmation has become extremely nice. We have now no law in force about it, or at least the old one for the manner of giving evidence is insignificant. The Queen's order we have. The form of affirmation, as allowed in England, to be enacted here, is not only opposed by the Church, but disliked by some Friends. We are a mixed people, who all claim a right to use their own way. Some Friends still in places and offices that cannot be exercised without great difficulties, and some times full stops, so that a very great hardship falls upon the Assembly. There

is so great a necessity for somewhat to be done, that it will be expected, and to me it seems impracticable to do anything that will please and hold. Therefore, if somewhat be not done on your side, and speedily too, it is impossible, I fear, to hold things as they are. Those Friends here who are against the affirmation, encourage us from thy letter to the Lieutenant-Governour concerning the case Friends have gained in Ireland, that with application the same may be gained for us. For my own part, though I am silent generally in these matters, and would not discourage the expectation, yet I am doubtful in the point, fearing, for we have yet no particular account how that is in Ireland, that it is nothing more than the proviso in favour of Friends, in the Act against Popery, made there last year, which I have seen, and observe that the sacred name is left out in the declaration and abjuration which they are to take. But this comes far short of a general admission in cases of evidence, jurors, &c.

I am not insensible to whom I write, and shall always pay a just deference to what I know to be thy opinion in the case, but beg leave to express myself with this freedom, and I hope in the same decency which a child may do to a parent, craving thy assistance to extricate me from a labyrinth I fall into when I give my thoughts a turn this way. We say, our principles are not destructive or repugnant to Civil Government, and will admit of free liberty of conscience to all; yet to me it appears, according to the best scheme I can form, from the opinions of many Friends, to be concerned in Government and hold them, we must either be independent and entirely by ourselves; or, if mixed, partial to our own opinion, and not allow the liberty to others, who make conscience, they say, to have an oath, we desire from them; or be, as thou used to express it, "Dissenters in our own country."

I need not to illustrate upon these hints, but leave them as such; and only add my respect and much love, in which my wife joins heartily to thee, and all thine, as by name.

Thy faithful friend, ISAAC NORRIS.

ISAAC NORRIS TO JAMES LOGAN.

PHILADA., *29th 9br*, 1710.

MY FRIEND, JAMES LOGAN: — I received, per Charles Read, the "*anno* 1709;" also, the second volume of the "Tatler," which I am pleased with. I should have overlooked them, as I did the first I saw, being one which John Askew sent thee or me, concerning the intended disposal of his sister Jenny, and thrown it by as idle and useless; or been like his remarker in No. 83, had not thou recommended them, and by that taught me to find instruction as well as delight. Turning them over, as one is apt to do at first opening, by letting the leaves fly from under my right thumb, I stopped at the last in the second volume, No. 114, and read it, and that directing me back to No. 95, I was more than ordinarily taken with them, and I believe it will help me to value, as I ought, the blessings I enjoy. Thou, who wert of the family of the Staffs, to use his expression, some times, to us here, ought to get acquainted with thy relation, and order him to knock off, if ever he finds himself exhausted, or to write with less spirit.

. . . . . Our Assembly met at the time, and adjourned to the 4th 10br, with the consent of the Governour, and all so far in good humour and well. We met with difficulty in getting the papers. They cull and keep back what they please. There is not a word to be seen of the foul minutes of 1704, but a fair, large, lying, full one, stitched up in the book. Brother Hill, Speaker. David Lloyd moved to Chester.[1] The County pretty quiet and easy. Thou used to talk of astral influences. I am not very superstitious, though I cannot but take notice how universally and resolutely Friends were spirited about this election. Nay, some from whose cautious, or careful temper so much could hardly be expected. Brother Preston very industrious; open and hearty.

I think not of much more. Only one thing I have omitted, as I do many things of my own interest, to put thee in mind of my

[1] Previous to his removal to Chester, David Lloyd lived in Second Street, on the West side, and just above Walnut, in a house which was pulled down in order to erect the Merchants' Coffee-House. — L.

twelve acres of land thou gave thy assent I should have in the vacancy near Fair Hill, on condition I would use it. That, and more, would be very convenient to me now, and I depend on it, having bought Arnold Cassel's plantation, and thou must remember me in it, if there be occasion to do it there. Give our dear love to all friends, and accept it in the same hearty manner it is sent from thy loving friend. Is. Norris.

[*Postscript.*] 10*br* 7*th*, 1710.

Our Assembly has met, and because of the openness of the weather, and great hurry both country and town members were in, have, with the Governour's consent, adjourned to the 1st of January, which the cunning and gaping party say is to wait for Governour Logan.

J. D., at Antigua, to J. A., in London.[1]

March 5*th*, 1710–11.

The Caribee Islands are so much troubled with the French privateers from Martinico, that no vessel can pass in or out for them. Montserrat they attempted to attack with six sail of their privateers, but were repulsed in their landing. They have plundered the Dutch island named Staica. About two months since a small galley, belonging to Liverpool, last from Dublin, intending for Antigua, the evening before she made the island of Antigua, a French privateer sloop came up with her; lay by all night, and about five in the morning attacked the galley, with design to board her; but the Liverpool man having provided broken glass bottles, with which he covered his decks and retired to his close quarters, as the privateer came up he so levelled his chase guns upon him, that he made a lane fore and aft on the Frenchman's decks, who still advanced and boarded him; but finding it impossible to keep the galley's decks by reason of the warm fire from their close quarters, powder-chests, &c., they were obliged to retire. This is the more remarkable

[1] [Merely the initials are given. Probably Jonathan Dickinson to John Askew. — Editor.]

because almost every week since I have been at Antigua we have heard of our vessels being taken and carried into Martinico.

F. Pennil, from Bristol, was taken into Martinico. He came in a flag of truce to Antigua, and going from thence to Nevis, was again taken by another privateer, and set ashore on Barbadoes, whence in a small boat he got to Nevis, &c. We have certain advice from Martinico that four sloops and our West India pacquet-boat, taken in 8br last, and carried into Martinico, are fitted out to cruise this Summer on the coast of Virginia, Pensilvania, and New York; and the French on Hispaniola intend two sloops for the same coast. They also threaten the river Delaware, and they will be on that coast from this month until September, unless they are disturbed.

Isaac Norris to James Logan.[1]

Philada., *2d-mo. 14th*, 1711.

My Friend, James Logan: — I wrote thee a long letter 13th 8br. Colonel French is now my letter, and will be able to exceed anything that can be wrote of affairs. He is pleased to make me, among the rest of his friends, a compliment, that our letters of this kind will be grateful to him. I almost could hope, as matters stand, he may find thee in England, and then thou art the man I pitch upon to recommend to for friendship and service. Thou knows my acquaintance at the grovelling end of the town, which may bring him to a dish of coffee, or perhaps rise to a bottle. However, tell any of my friends I shall be extremely obliged by any service they can do for him. I shall say nothing to the business he goes on; you will be full of it, and better judges will be found there than we can pretend to here of the nature of Park's fact.[2]

I only add our affliction in the loss of thy spouse, Rachael.[3]

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[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.]

[2] [Trading with the enemy, for which his ship was seized and condemned at New Castle. Note by Is. Norris. — Editor.]

[3] [The daughter of the writer. — Editor.]

She was taken ill this day three weeks in the night, and died before day the next. My poor wife has been in continual tears, and I must acknowledge it almost unmanned me, but I hope we both patiently submit to the will of God.

We have lost a pretty many people this fall, and among them that valuable young man Richard Heath, who is much missed, and I know not when his place will be supplied.

I am thy loving friend, Is. Norris.

Isaac Norris to Joseph Pike.

[*Extract.*] Philada., 4*th-mo.*, 1711.

. . . . . We hear that a surrender is on foot in England, upon which some Friends have wrote freely to our Proprietor. I hope if he does, it will be on safe terms for Friends, and honourable for himself. In my private judgment, our present circumstances duly weighed, I cannot be against it. He is far in years, his *son not very desirable to succeed him;* therefore it looks as if the best conditions would be now had in his lifetime; yet, on the other hand, being sensible, notwithstanding our stingy malcontents make such an outcry now at the poor pittance that is raised, that when a change happens, our penny may be sixpence; and then whosoever shall by advice or otherwise have contributed thereto, his rational prospects shall be overlooked, and the people's present sense of pain raise their anger, so that I would be very cautious of contributing to a change, if it were possible to hold it with any hope of durable ease. . . . .

I am apt to think the country has, within ten or twelve years, increased to near ten times its then produce of corn, wheat especially. The market of Lisbon has been of great advantage to us. We have now going seven or eight vessels, and some of them large. The old crop is near out, but a very full and likely one on the ground, if it please the Lord to give us a kindly harvest. Wheat 3*s.* 3*d.*, and rising.

Isaac Norris to Benjamin Coole.

Philada., 16*th* 4*th-mo.*, 1711.

My Friend, Benjamin Coole: . . . . I hope if Governour Penn surrenders, he will make good terms thereupon for his friends. Oaths, Ministry, Maintenance, and Militia, are the four things which should, and will, I hope, be guarded against upon a change. I mean the imposition of them. . . . . .

Isaac Norris to James Logan.

Philada., 28*th* 6*th-mo.*, 1711.

. . . . . We have raised £2,000 for the Queen's use, to be paid to the Governour, and by him to such persons as she hath already or shall appoint to receive the same. We advised with the most substantial of Friends, foreseeing the clamours and uneasiness, but concluded nothing of that kind should prevent us from doing what we apprehended our duty. The result of much thought and consideration, as well as argument, was that we did not see it inconsistent with our principles to give the Queen money, notwithstanding any use she might put it to, *that* being not our part, but hers.

It is a very sickly season. Many are dead, and die daily. I think there is eight or nine dead now in the town; none yet of thy intimate acquaintance. David Lloyd and Joseph Wilcox have both been down, but likely to recover. Richard Parker, James Atkinson with Agnes, William Till, Thomas Bradford's wife, Stephen Staples wife, Warder's wife, with many children and others, lately dead. I pray God fit us all for that inevitable change, by darkening this world and enlightening his kingdom in our eyes. . . . . .

Judith Crowley to James Logan.[1]

Stour, 15*th* 7*th-mo.*, 1711.

Respected J. L.:—I dare not and cannot comply with thy request, for several reasons. I should, I am, and must be under subjection. This consideration will by no means admit me. No, I must not act without my friends approving of it.

Sister Smith returns home the beginning of this week. I expect brother B. C. and wife home to-night. They have been in Wales and come back by way of Lemster[2] and Bromyard. I hope to hear by them when father intends for Stour. I think I may tell 'tis uncertain where father and I shall winter, but it now seems most likely at Greenwich. I can't say it pleases me. I've several times begun to write to Coz. I. N., but can't yet finish. I have such a deal to tell him, I can't bring it into compass, and I'm sure my style is too mean to any way excuse a long letter. I've oft very much wondered how I had courage to write to so great a master of sciences as thyself, but believe this thought presents, that such persons know better how to employ their time than to ridicule, though there is just occasion. This, and the reason I've to believe thee has a deal of honour, has given me more liberty than else I should have taken. Believing I am not deceived, shall remain

Thy friend, J. C.

P. S. Thy letter was not dated. I should be extremely pleased to see E. Palmer here. I am resolved to write to Coz. I. N. I know he has abundance of good-humour.

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[1] Judith Crowley appears to have made an agreeable impression on Jas. Logan's mind when he was in England. She was related to the Lloyds. — L.

[2] [Probably an abbreviation for Leominster. — Editor.]

ISAAC NORRIS TO JAMES LOGAN.

PHILADA., 13*th* 8*br*, 1711.

. . . . . As I observed in my last, the £2,000 has been an excellent help to the former set of Assembly to stir again, so that the last election was a great stir here and at Chester. Bucks I know not what to say for, but doubt it dwindles. Chester carried their ticket entire, and so might we, had equal industry been used. 'Tis true a paper was printed called "Seasonable Advice," and were it not for the Lisbon postage, I would send thee one; but then most Friends pitching upon some of us to serve again, we thought, after this noise, 'twas better to change hands, and for myself I was quite tired, and fully resolved not to stand, and therefore could not be very industrious; and indeed, for want of being more timely and considerate, some young hands were put in, that were not of general satisfaction among ourselves, which lost that part of the ticket, and David Lloyd, Jos. Wilcox, and Jno. Roberts came in, so that we are mixed. However, when we saw how the country went, we got in brother Hill and Samuel Preston, by a great majority.

Philada. City. Edward Farmer, Benj. Duffield, Isaac Norris, David Lloyd, Owen Roberts, Robt. Owen, of Gwyned, Jno. Roberts, maltster, Jos. Wilcox.

Chester. Caleb Pusey, Mich'l Pile, Jos. Baker, Jno. Bezar, Nath. Newlin, Nich's Fairlamb, Francis Yarnall, David Llewellin.

Bucks. Thos. Stevenson, Thos. Stackhouse, Jno. Langhorne, Wm. Biles, Sl. Burgess, Jr., Josa. Hoopes, Robt. Heaton, Jr., Sam'l Baker.

We meet on Second-day, and perhaps better may come out of this mixture than is expected. Since my last the sickness increased again, and many have died, among them, last First-day, that valuable young man, Richard Heath, much lamented.

COMMISSION OF WILLIAM PENN TO EDWARD SHIPPEN AND OTHERS.

William Penn, Esq., absolute Proprietary and Governour-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsilvania, and Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on the Delaware.

To my trusty and well-beloved friends, EDWARD SHIPPEN, SAMUEL CARPENTER, RICHARD HILL, and ISAAC NORRIS.

Whereas, By my Commission bearing date y^e^ 8th day of [obliterated] I nominated and appointed you, together with James Logan, to be my Proprietary Deputies or Commissioners of Property for the said Province, &c., and by one special clause in the said Commission I did authorize and empower you, the said Ed. Shippen, Sam'l Carpenter, Rich'd Hill, and Isaac Norris, or any three of you, for me and in my behalf to state, settle, and adjust all accounts depending between me and the said James Logan, my Receiver General for the time past, or that shall depend between me and my Receiver General for the time to come. Now, for your better and more especial government in adjusting and settling the said accounts with my said Receiver for the time past, I do, by these presents, for me, my executors and administrators, direct you to allow to the said James Logan a thousand pounds of your present current money in Pennsilvania for past services, allowing him further ten pounds per an. for the Property office for rent, and for the future I allow him fifty pounds pr. an. the same money for collecting my quit-rents, and finishing exact rent-rolls, as far as may be practicable, besides charges; and to Isaac Norris and the said James Logan jointly, two and a half per cent. for receiving all but quit-rents, and five per cent. for remittals; for which this shall be your authority, given under my hand the 8Xbr., 1711. WILLIAM PENN.

Witnesses:
HENRY GOULDNEY,
ROBERT WEST,
JOHN EVANS.

NOTE by James Logan to this paper:

"The Proprietor was willing to give me what I would ask for my ten years' service, and considering his melancholy circumstances in 1711, I set it at only £100 a year currency, for all manner of services whatsoever, but told him I could stay in his service no longer than two years. But he was seized with an apoplectic fit in less than one

Isaac Norris to Mordecai Moore.

Philada., *12th* 10*br*, 1711.[1]

Dear Brother and Sister Moore: — I had wrote the within letter intended by a young man that lodged at Br. Hill's, and was beginning Fitzsimmons', when I was broke off by my Rachael[2] growing worse, and that night about one o'clock died. This was very sudden and afflicting to us. She was of a pleasant, sociable temper, and we find the miss of her, even in our number, much. But she was taken off sweetly and in a state of innocence, which, when we suffer our religion or reason to sway, gives us comfort. My dear wife, I am afraid, hurts herself much, and it seems to wear off too slowly. Hannah has been, we thought, pretty pert again, tho' very weak; but yesterday had the second fit of tertian, and was exceedingly faint and sick under it.

Is. Norris.

---

year, which tied me down to his business, vastly as it proved to my loss."

The high respect and friendship which James Logan felt for the Proprietor and his excellent lady, induced him during the long illness, and after the death of William Penn, to do all in his power for the benefit of the family; and if their descendants did not appreciate his services as they ought to have done, when their affairs, freed from the embarrassments which these letters have detailed, became more prosperous, and they possessed a princely fortune, he, however, had the consolation of knowing that he had discharged his duty to them and to the public. — L.

[1] [From the Norris MSS. — Editor.]

[2] [This child died at about the age of twelve years. — Editor.]

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†Dawson, Josiah
Dawson, Mordecai L.
Day, Alfred
†Denny, William H., Pittsburg
Derbyshire, Alexander
Dickinson, Mahlon H.
Dickson, James R.
†Dickson, Levi
Disston, Hamilton
Dougherty, Daniel
†Drake, Charles B., Wilkes-Barré
Dreer, Ferdinand J.
Drexel, Anthony J.
Drowne, Henry T., New York.
Duane, William
Dulty, William
Duncan, Henry P., Duncansby, Mississippi
Duncan, William Butler, New York
†Dundas, James
Dungan, Charles B.
†Dunlap, Thomas

Earl, Harrison
Earle, James S.
Early, William
†Eckert, George N.
Eddy, Richard, Gloucester, Mass.
Eisenbrey, Edwin T.
Eisenbrey, William Harrison
Eldridge, G. Morgan
Elkin, S.
†Elliott, Isaac
Ellis, Thomas H., Richmond, Va.
Ellmaker, Peter C.
Elwyn, Alfred Langdon
†Ely, John
Ely, Louisa
Ely, Richard Elias, New Hope, Bucks County

Ely, William, New Brighton, Beaver County
Emery, Titus S.
Emley, Gilbert
Emory, Charles
Emory, John, Montgomery County
†Errickson, Michael
Evans, Horace
Evans, Joseph R.
†Everett, Edward, Boston, Mass.

Fagan, John
†Fahnestock, B. A.
†Fahnestock, George W.
†Fallon, Christopher, Delaware Co.
Fallon, John
Farmer, James S.
†Farnum, John
Fay, William A.
Fell, Franklin
Fell, J. Gillingham
Felton, S. M., Chester
†Fenimore, Jason L.
Fernon, Thomas S.
Firmstone, William, Easton
Fish, A. J.
†Fisher, Charles Henry, Brookwood, Philadelphia
Fisher, J. B.
Fisher, J. Francis, Alverthorpe
Fitler, Edwin H.
Foltz, Jonathan M.
Foote, William Henry, Romney, Va.
†Foster, Jr., William B.
†Foulke, William Parker
Foust, Robert M.
†Fox, Charles P., Champ-lost, Phila.
Fox, Philip L.
Fraley, Frederick
Freas, P. R., Germantown
Freytag, Godfrey, Germany
†Fuller, Henry M.
†Fullerton, Alexander
Furness, Horace Howard

Gardette, Emile B.
Garrard, Kenner, U. S. Army
Garrard, Lewis H., Westervelt, Minn.
Garrett, Thomas C., Germantown
†Gaul, Frederick
Gaw, Alexander G.
†Gerhard, Benjamin
Gibbons, Charles
Gibson, Jr., George, U. S. Army
Gibson, Henry C.
†Gilbert, David
Gilbert, John
Gillis, John P., U. S. Navy, Wilmington, Del.
†Gilpin, Henry D.
Goforth, John
Gordon, N. P.
†Gorgas, John, Wilmington, Del.
Graff, Frederick
†Graham, James D., U. S. Army
Grant, Jr., Samuel, Torresdale
Grant, William S.
Gray, Andrew C., New Castle, Del.
Greble, Edwin
Greene, Richard Ward, Providence, R. I.
†Greeves, James R.
†Gries, John M.
Griffitts, Jr., William F.
†Grigg, John
Grimshaw, Arthur H., Wilmington, Del.
Grout, Henry T.
Grugan, Charles C., New York
Guiteras, Eusebio, Matanzas, Cuba
†Guiteras, Pedro J., Matanzas, Cuba
Gulager, William

†Hacker, Isaiah
†Hacker, Jeremiah
†Hacker, William E.
Haines, Ann, Germantown
Hamilton, James, Carlisle
Hammersly, George
Hammond, Jr., Charles
Hand, James C.
†Harlan, Charles
†Harmar, Charles, Harmar's Retreat, Philada.
Harris, Franklin M.
Harrison, Jr., Joseph
Harrison, Wm. Henry
Hart, Abraham
Hartshorne, Edward
†Haseltine, John
Haseltine, Ward B.
Haupt, Herman
Haven, William S., Pittsburg
Hayes, Isaac I.
†Hazard, Erskine
†Hazard, Samuel
†Heazlitt, Charles F.
Heberton, G. Craig
Helfenstein, William L., Shamokin
Henry, Granville, Nazareth
Henry, Morton P.
Hering, Constantine

Hildeburn, Henry M.
†Hill, Marshall
Hilles, Nathan, Frankford
Hodge, Hugh L.
Hoffman, Francis S.
†Hollingsworth, Thomas G.
Hollowbush, Jacob R., Quincy, Ill.
Holsman, Daniel
†Hone, Isaac S.
Hoopes, Penrose R.
Hopkins, Edward M.
†Horstmann, Sigmund H.
†Horstmann, William J.
Houston, Henry H., Germantown
Howard, James W.
†Howard, N. G.
Huddy, Benjamin F.
Huff, John W.
Hughes, Francis W., Pottsville
Huidekoper, Alfred, Meadville
Huidekoper, Frederick, Meadville
†Humphreys, Charles
Hunsicker, Henry A., Freeland, Montgomery Co.
Hunt, Benjamin P.
Hunt, Mordecai, Moorestown, N.J.
Hunter, John, Liverpool, Eng.
Huntington, L. C. L.
Hutchinson, Charles Hare

Ingersoll, Charles
†Ingersoll, Joseph R.
Ingram, Harlan
†Ingram, Thomas R.
Irvine, Wm. A., Irvine, Warren Co.
Irwin, John, Pittsburg

Jackson, Charles M., Germantown
†Jacobs, Samuel F., Churchtown, Lancaster County
Jacobs, William Boyd
Jacobsen, John J., Baltimore, Md.
James, John O.
†James, Thomas C.
Jamison, B. K.
†Janney, Benjamin S.
Jayne, E. C.
†Jayne, David W.
Jenkins, Jr., Jabez
Jenks, Barton H.
Jenks, John S.
Jenks, William H.
Jenks, William P.
Jennings, N. A.
Joerg, Edward, Kettle Creek, Potter County
Johnson, John G.
†Johnson, Lawrence
Johnson, Theodore T., New York
Johnston, Alexander
Johnston, Wm. Stoddart
Jones, Caleb
Jones, D. D., Slatington, Lehigh Co.
Jones, Horatio G., Roxborough
Jones, John D., Cincinnati, Ohio
Jones, J. Pringle, Reading
Jones, Maurice C., Bethlehem
Jordan, Francis
Jordan, Jr., John
Justice, Philip L.

Kane, Robert P.
Kane, Thomas L., Kane, McKean County
Kay, J. Alfred
Keating, William V.
†Keim, George M., Reading
Kelley, William D.
†Kelly, Charles, Kellyville
Kemble, William H.
†Kempton, James C., Manayunk
Kent, Rodolphus, Gwynedd, Montgomery County
Kent, William C.
Kern, William H.
Kessler, Jr., John
Keyser, Charles S.
†Keyser, Peter A.
†Kimball, Stephen
Kimber, Jr., Thomas
King, C. Murray
King, D. Rodney
†King, Robert P.
Kirkbride, Thomas S.
†Kirkham, William
Kirkpatrick, Edwin
Kneass, Strickland
Kneedler, J. S.
Knight, Edward C.
Knowles, George L.
Koecker, Leonard R.
†Kramer, Allen
†Kuhn, Hartman
†Kuhn, J. Hamilton

Lambdin, James R., Germantown
Lambert, John
Landreth, Oliver
Lardner, James L., U. S. Navy
Lardner, Richard Penn, Graydon, Montgomery County
Larimer, Jr., William, Omaha, Neb.

†Latimer, John R., Wilmington, Del.
Lea, Henry C.
Lea, Isaac
Lee, George F.
Leedom, Benjamin J., Germantown
†Leibert, James, Bethlehem
Lejée, William R.
Lenox, James, New York
†Lennig, Frederick
†Levering, Lemuel S.
†Levy, Lyon Joseph
†Lewis, Ellis
Lewis, George T.
Lewis, Henry
Lewis, John T.
†Lewis, Mordecai D.
Lick, John H., San José, California
†Lindsay, John
Lippincott, J. B.
Littell, John S., Wilmington, Del.
†Livermore, George, Boston, Mass.
†Lloyd, Franklin, Bay City, Michigan
Locke, Zebulon
Logan, J. Dickinson, Somerville, Philadelphia
†Longnecker, Henry C., Allentown
Longstreth, William C.
Loper, Richard F., Stonington, Conn.
Lovering, Joseph S, Oak Hill, Phila.
Lowry, Robert O.
Lucas, James
†Ludewig, Herman E., New York
†Lukens, Casper P.
Library, Athenæum, Philadelphia
Library, Athenæum, West Chester
Library, Carpenters' Comp'y, Phila.
Library, Cliosophic Society, Princeton, N. J.
Library Company, Philadelphia, two copies
Library, Delaware County Institute of Science, Media
Library, Lafayette College, Easton
Library Association, Portland, Oregon
Library, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia
Library of Seminary, Bethlehem
Library of Seminary, Nazareth
Library of Seminary, Salem, N.C.
Library, State, Boston, Mass.
Library, State, Harrisburg
Library, Wilmington Institute, Wilmington, Del.

McAllister, John A.
McAllister, Wardale G., N.Y.
McArthur, Jr., John
†McCall, George A., West Chester
McCall, Harry
McCall, John C.
McCammon, David C.
†McCanles, John
McCauley, Edwin H., Lebanon
McDowell, Robert, Slatington, Lehigh County
McElhone, John J., Washington, D.C.
McHenry, George, London, England
†McHenry, Isaac, Pittsburg
McIntyre, Archibald
McKean, H. Pratt, Germantown
McKibbin, William C.
McMahon, George W.
McMichael, Morton

Macalester, Charles
Maceuen, Malcolm
Maddock, Edward
Magarge, Charles, Germantown
Magee, James
Malone, Benjamin
Man, William
Mann, William B.
Markley, Edward C.
Marsh, Benjamin V.
†Marshall, Benjamin
†Martin, George H.
Martin, John Hill
Mason, Samuel
†Massey, Robert V.
Mathias, John T., Baltimore, Md.
Maus, Philip F., Danville
Maxwell, Henry D., Easton
Maxwell, Volney L., Wilkes-Barré
Meconkey, David, West Chester
Megargee, Sylvester J.
Mellor, Thomas, Chelton Hills
Menzies, William, New York
Meredith, William M.
†Mercer, Singleton A.
†Merrick, Samuel V.
Messchert, M. H.
Michener, Israel
Michener, John H.
†Michler, Peter S., Easton
Mickley, Joseph J.
†Middleton, E. P.
Middleton, Nathan
Miles, Edward Harris
†Miller, Andrew
Miller, E. Spencer
Miller, John, Oxford, Chester Co.

Milliken, James
†Miner, Charles, Wilkes-Barré
Miskey, William F.
Mitchell, John C.
†Mitchell, John K.
Mitchell, S. B. Wylie
†Mitchell, Thomas S.
Mitchell, William A.
Moore, Bloomfield H.
Moreau, John B., New York
Morris, Anthony S., Pemberton, N.J.
Morris, Casper
Morris, Charles M.
Morris, Israel
†Morris, Jacob G.
Morris, Wistar
Muhlenberg, Heister H., Reading
Muirheid, Charles H.
Munsell, Joel, Albany, N.Y.
Murray, James B., Pittsburg
Myers, Joseph B.

Neill, John
Newbold, James S.
Newbold, John S.
†Newbold, Thomas H.
†Newbold, William H.
Newell, Samuel
Newhall, Thomas A., Germantown
†Newkirk, Matthew
Newland, Edward
Nicholson, James B.
Nicholson, Richard L.
Norris, George W.
Norris, Isaac
†Norris, Samuel
†Notman, John

Ogden, Charles S.
Ogden, John M.
Okie, J. Brognard
†Orne, James H.

Packer, E. A., New York
Palmer, Jonathan
Pardee, A., Hazleton
Parker, John B.
Parrish, Charles, Wilkes-Barré
†Parrish, George D., Burlington Co., New Jersey
Parrish, Samuel
Parry, Richard Randolph
Parry, Charles T.
Paschall, Robert S.
Patten, William
Patterson, Robert
Patterson, Robert
Paul, Bettle
Paul, James
Paul, James W.
Pawson, James
†Paxton, Joseph R.
†Peabody, George, London, Eng.
Peace, Edward
Peirce, William S.
Pemberton, Israel
†Penn, Granville John, Pennsylvania Castle, Isle of Portland, Eng.
Pepper, George S.
†Pepper, Henry
Pepper, Lawrence S., Chelton Hills
†Peters, Francis
Phillips, Henry M.
Phillips, Horace
Pickett, John T., Washington, D.C.
Plate, J. Theophilus, New York
†Platt, Jr., William
†Pleasants, Samuel
Plitt, George
Porter, William A.
Potts, Joseph D.
Potts, William John, Camden, N.J.
Powers, Thomas H.
Preston, Paul S., Stockport
Price, Eli K.
Price, J. Sergeant
†Price, Richard
†Priestley, Jos. R., Northumberland
†Primrose, William
†Pringle, James S.
Purves, William
Putnam, George P., New York

†Randall, Josiah
Randall, Robert E.
Randolph, Evan
†Randolph, Nathaniel
Rau, Edward H.
Read, Jr., John M., Albany
Reed, William B., New York
Reeves, Samuel J.
Remington, Thomas P.
Repplier, George S.
Repplier, John G.
†Repplier, Joseph M.
Resor, Jacob, Cincinnati, Ohio
Rice, John
Richardson, Richard
Riggs, George W., Washington, D.C.
†Ritter, Jacob B.
Robbins, John
†Roberts, Algernon S.

Roberts, Charles
Roberts, George H.
Roberts, Solomon W.
Roberts, William R.
Robins, Thomas
†Robinson, Hanson, New Castle County, Delaware
Roepper, William Theodore, Bethlehem
†Rogers, Alfred W.
Rogers, Charles H.
Rogers, Fairman
Rorer, David, Burlington, Iowa
Ross, Andrew
Ross, M. A., Addison, Somerset Co.
†Ross, William S., Wilkes-Barré
Rowland, Jos. Galloway, Quincy, Ill.
Rowland, William
Rupp, I. Daniel
†Rutter, R. L.
†Ryerss, Joseph W.

Sabin, Joseph, New York
Sanford, E. S., Brooklyn, L. I.
†Sargent, Winthrop
Schenley, Mary, Prince's Gate, Hyde Park, London, Eng.
Schuyler, Jr., P. C., Portland, Oregon
Schwartz, Jacob E., Pittsburg
Scott, Lewis A.
Scott, Thomas A.
Scull, G. D., The Laurels, Hounslow Heath, Eng.
Scranton, Selden T., Oxford, Warren County, New Jersey
Seal, Joseph H.
Seitzinger, J. J.
Sellers, Jr., John
Sellers, William
Seltzer, J. H.
Sergeant, J. Dickinson
†Sergeant, Thomas
†Sergeant, William
Sexton, John W.
Shaffer, Charles, Concordville, Delaware County
Sharp, Joseph W.
†Sharpless, Henry H. G.
Sharpless, Samuel J.
Sharswood, George
Shea, C. B., Pittsburg
Sheafer, Peter W., Pottsville
Sheppard, Furman
Sherman, Roger
Shipley, Augustus B.
†Shipley, Joseph, Rockwood, New Castle County, Delaware
†Shippen, Franklin
†Shippen, William
Shober, Samuel L.
Simons, Henry
Sinclair, Thomas
Singerly, Joseph
Slack, J. Hamilton, Bloomsbury, N. J.
†Slocum, J. J., Wilkes-Barré
Smedley, Samuel L.
Smith, Aubrey H.
Smith, A. Lewis
†Smith, Beaton
Smith, Charles E.
Smith, Ravis R.
Smith, Ellwood M.
Smith, Jesse E., Windlawn, Philada.
Smith, Joseph P.
Smith, Newberry A.
Smith, Richard S.
Smith, Robert
Smith, Robert P., Germantown
Smith, Samuel Grant
†Smith, William Prescott, Baltimore
Snowden, James Ross, Hulmeville
Snyder, George W., Pottsville
Sower, Charles G.
Spackman, John B.
Spangler, C. E.
Sparks, Thomas
Spencer, Charles, Germantown
Spencer, Howard
Spooner, Edwin
†Sproat, Harris L.
Steele, Hugh E., Coatesville
†Steever, Henry D., Germantown
†Stevens, James E. P., Germantown
Stewart, William H., Paris, France
Stillé, Alfred
Stillé, Charles J.
Stocker, Anthony E., Germantown
Stone, Frederick D.
Stone, James N.
Stone, William E., Germantown
Stuart, George H.
Stoddart, Curwen
Strong, William
Struthers, William
Sully, Thomas
Swift, Joseph

Taggart, William H.
Tasker, Stephen P. M.
Tasker, Thomas T.
Tasker, Jr., Thomas T.

Taylor, Samuel L.
Taylor, Stephen
Thomas, David, Catasauqua
Thomas, George C.
†Thomas, John Dover
†Thomas, Joseph M.
†Thomas, Martin
Thomas, William B.
†Thomson, George H., Germantown
Thomson, J. Edgar
Thompson, John J.
†Thompson, Oswald
†Toland, Henry
Townsend, Henry C.
Traquair, James
Trautwine, John C.
Trotter, Charles W.
Trotter, Joseph H.
Trotter, Newbold H.
Trotter, William Henry
Trump, Daniel
Tucker, John
Turnbull, William P.
Turnpenny, Joseph C.
Tyler, George F.
Tyndale, Hector
Tyson, James, Titusville
Tyson, James L.
†Tyson, J. R.

Valentine, Robert
Van der Kemp, John J., Paris, France
†Van Rensselaer, Cortlandt, Burlington, N. J.
†Van Syckel, James J.
Vaux, George
Vaux, Roberts
Vaux, William S.
Verree, John P.
Von Utassy, A. W., Germantown

Wagner, Charles M.
†Wagner, Samuel, York
Walker, Jerry
Wallace, John William
†Waln, S. Morris
Ward, Townsend
†Warder, Benjamin H.
†Warner, Joseph
Warner, Redwood F.
Washburn, Daniel, Ashland
Weber, Paul, Germany
Webster, David
Webster, Thomas
Weightman, William
Welsh, John
Welsh, Jr., John
Welsh, Samuel
Westcott, Thompson
†Wetmore, Henry C., Fishkill, N.Y.
†Wharton, George M.
Wharton, Joseph
†Wharton, Thomas I.
Whitall, John M.
White, J. Claude, Swatara
White, J. DeHaven
†Whiteman, William A.
Whiting, William, Boston, Mass.
Whitney, Asa
Whitney, John R., Glen Brook Farm, Radnor, Delaware County
Wicht, William V., Nassau, Germany
Wight, Jr., Andrew, New York
Wilcocks, Alexander
Willcox, Mark
Williams, Edward H.
Williams, Henry J.
†Williams, James W.
Wilson, John H., St. Louis, Mo.
Wilson, Oliver Howard
†Wilson, Thomas B.
†Wilson, William S.
Winsor, Henry
Winthrop, Robert C.
†Wistar, Mifflin
†Wistar, Richard
Wister, Casper
Witte, William H., White Marsh
Womrath, F. K.
Wood, George A.
Wood, George B.
Wood, James F.
Wood, Richard
Woodward, Harry Conrad, Reading
Woodward, Warren J., Wilkes-Barré
Workman, Henry Weir
†Worrell, James C.
†Wynkoop, Francis M.

Yarnall, Charles
†Yarnall, Edward
Yarnall, Ellis
Yarnall, Francis C.
Yarrow, Matilda
†Yost, J. S., Pottstown

Ziegler, George K.